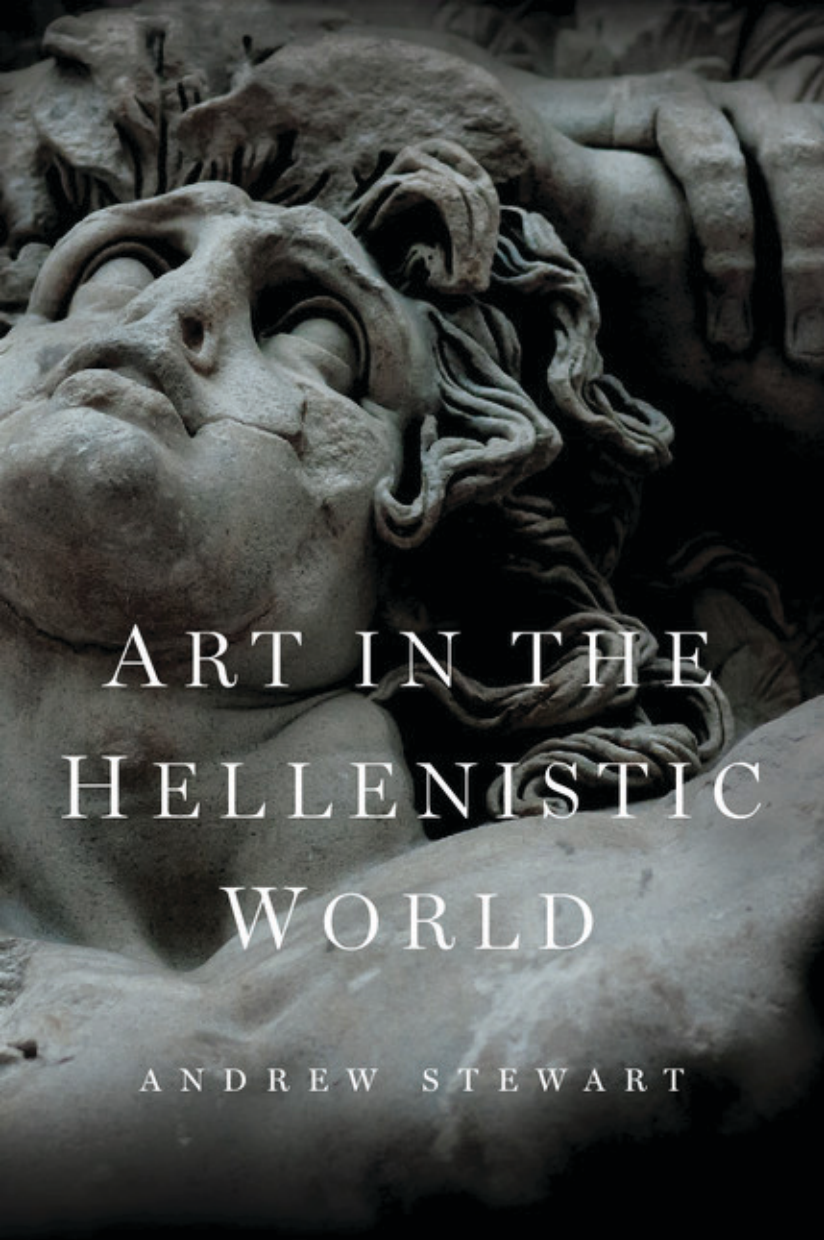

ART IN THE
HELLENISTIC
WORLD
ANDREW STEWART

Art in the Hellenistic World

What was Hellenistic art, and what were its contexts, aims, achievements, and impact? This textbook introduces students to these questions and offers a series of answers to them. Its twelve chapters and two "focus" sections examine Hellenistic sculpture, painting, luxury arts, and architecture. Thematically organized, spanning the three centuries from Alexander to Augustus, and ranging geographically from Italy to India and the Black Sea to Nubia, the book examines key monuments of Hellenistic art in relation to the great political, social, cultural, and intellectual issues of the time. It is illustrated with 170 photographs (mostly in color, and many never before published) and contextualized through excerpts from Hellenistic literature and inscriptions. Helpful ancillary features include maps, appendices with background on Hellenistic artists and translations of key documents, a full glossary, a timeline, brief biographies of key figures, suggestions for further reading, and bibliographical references.

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ART IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

AN INTRODUCTION

ANDREW STEWART

University of California, Berkeley

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PREFACE

I have spent twenty years writing – or more accurately not writing – this book. When my editor, Beatrice Rehl, asked me in the mid-1990s if I would like to produce a new survey of Hellenistic art, after downing a stiff drink I immediately thought of reworking my own lectures (one semester's worth from a course that I normally offer every three years). The resulting outline was a baggy monster: twenty-six chapters; hundreds of objects, facts, theories, and illustrations; and potentially enormous outlays of money that neither the Press nor I could afford – and, a fortiori, also well beyond any student's pocket.

So, after several futile attempts over the years to put this dinosaur on a diet, I finally decided to kill it off and substitute something more evolved. Instead of a comprehensive chronological and geographical survey, I have chosen a selective, thematic, and socially grounded one. Regrettably, however, my space and illustration allowances are limited, so this step forward in one direction has dictated a step backward in another. I have had to forego detailed discussion of the eastern and western margins of the Hellenistic world (Baktria, India, Etruria, Rome), although in partial compensation, Baktria does make a cameo appearance in two chapters and Roman Italy in several others.

After the obligatory introduction that is still longer and more list-heavy than I would like, each chapter addresses a major, avowed concern of Hellenistic art and its public, onto which one or more genres can be mapped with some confidence. (Because style follows genre in this period, stylistic development, when discernible, comes a distant third.) I have taken some care not to impose these themes upon the material, and only that of Chapter 12 – reception – has no exact equivalent in Hellenistic Greek. By the same token, I have avoided certain well-entrenched terms, such as "theatricality," because they cannot be translated into Greek, have no equivalent in ancient critical

writing, and are too vague and sweeping to be useful in the study of the subject as I understand it.

For convenience, these twelve chapters are grouped into three sets of four, loosely related and punctuated by two shorter "focuses" on key originals (the Great Altar of Pergamon and Hellenistic mosaics). These "focuses" both help to draw together the various strands of the quartet that precedes them and announce others treated in the next one. Two appendixes translating some key documents and discussing the artists, a glossary, a chronology, and forty-two biographical sketches of various key players conclude the book.

Many people have generously contributed their time and expertise to this project. Kristen Seaman, Anne Stewart, and Graham Zanker have kindly read and commented on sample chapters. They and two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press have suggested numerous improvements and have saved me from many errors and infelicities. For those that remain, mea culpa. Erin Babnik, Beryl Barr-Sharrar, Paul Bernard, Osmund Bopearachchi, Matthew Brennan, Antonio Corso, Bernard Frischer, Françoise Gaultier, Hans Goette, Erik Gustafson, Chris Hallett, Tonio Hölscher, Frank Holt, Ludovic Laugier, Réné Lecuyot, Laure Marest-Caffey, Becky Martin, Craig Mauzy, Jari Pakkanen, Olga Palagia, Alain Pasquier, Jim Porter, Évélyne Prioux, Céline Rebière-Plé, Susan Rotroff, Peter Schultz, Bert Smith, Candace Smith, Michael Squire, Anna Trofimova, Jacquie Williamson, and no doubt others whom I have neglected to record or remember (again, mea culpa!) have generously contributed bibliography, ideas, suggestions, corrections, and/or pictures.

For more than three decades I have had the enormous pleasure of reading most of the Greek texts I address in the congenial biweekly company of the Berkeley Greek Club. I thank its present and past members, the late Fred Amory, Jock Anderson, Louise Chu, Marcia DeVoe, Betsy Ditmars, Mark Griffith, Gary Holland, Sharon James, Leslie Kurke, Rachel Lesser, Kathy McCarthy, Rodney Merrill, Jack Nickel, Amy Russell, Chris Simon, Anne Stewart, Michael Tillotson, and Tom Walsh, for their friendship and countless invaluable contributions to my understanding of these texts.

Beatrice Rehl, my long-suffering editor at Cambridge University Press, has answered innumerable queries and solved numerous problems with her usual geniality and dispatch. It is a pleasure to publish for a fourth, and perhaps last, time with my alma mater and under her expert guidance and now also that of her assistant, Isabella Vitti. Jason Hosford, Senior Digital Curator of our departmental Visual Resources Center, has helped to research and edit illustrations and has saved me countless hours of letter writing and negotiating permissions and prices for them; Erin Babnik, Lynn Cunningham, Hans Goette, and Julie Wolf also kindly spent much time cleaning them up, sizing them, and editing them. Erin Babnik created the maps with her usual skill, and Candace Smith produced the splendid Ofellius and Lykosoura reconstructions. John McChesney-Young expertly prepared the index. U.C. Berkeley's Committee on Research and Nicholas C. Petris Chair endowment provided generous grants for research assistance and for pictures and permissions, as, in the latter case, did Cambridge University Press. And finally, these grateful acknowledgments would not be complete without mention of the warm companionship and support of Darlis, Buddy, Dinah, Maxie, Poly, and Shadow.

INTRODUCTION

Inside a shallow drinking or libation bowl of dazzling, multilayered, semiprecious sardonyx (Figure 1) – cream, red-brown, and almost eight inches wide – an idyllic scene emerges. Carved *cameo*[1]-fashion into the creamy third layer of this huge, semitranslucent gemstone, eight figures compete for our attention.

At center, a vigorous young man, clad only in a skimpy loincloth, holds a seed bag, a knife, and a bow-shaped object that an ancient viewer would have recognized as the shaft of a plough. At left, a bearded old man (also bare-chested but much less sexy) sits against a tree and holds a horn of plenty, or *cornucopia*. Below them, a bare-breasted woman (a surefire attention-getter rediscovered on European beaches in the 1960s), in Egyptian Isis dress and with an Egyptian hairdo, reclines on a sphinx and holds two ears of grain. Suggestively, the cornucopia, plough shaft, and grain all line up just to the left of center.

At right recline two other women, also topless and nearly as well endowed as the one on the sphinx. The first proffers a bowl somewhat like the one under discussion, and the second reclines against a sheaf of wheat and holds another cornucopia. Finally, two comely youths, naked but for their billowing cloaks, soar across the sky above, one blowing a conch shell and the other turning to watch him. Meanwhile, on the bowl's underside, a huge Gorgon's head, or *Gorgoneion*, wreathed with writhing snakes, glares balefully at anyone tempted to disturb the drinker as he tilts it to imbibe.

As for the bowl's material, sardonyx is a variant of onyx, a banded chalcedony so named because its internal layers are cream-colored, like the tip of a fingernail (*onyx* in Greek), and its colored bands are shades of red, or *sard*

1 For this and other technical terms, see the Glossary on p. 301.



1. The Tazza Farnese, ca. 150–30. This sardonyx bowl is a spectacular example of an authentically Ptolemaic invention: the *cameo*. The Nile/Osiris River (left) and Euthenia ("Bounty"; seated on a sphinx) watch Horus/Triptolemos appear with a seed bag, knife, and plough, as the Seasons (right) and Etesian Winds (above) look on; a huge *Gorgoneion*

(allegedly because it was first identified at Sardis in western Anatolia),[2] rather than black. Consisting of fine intergrowths of quartz and moganite, onyx is *cryptocrystalline*: formed of crystals that are almost invisible even under a microscope. Its colored bands run more or less parallel to each other, encouraging this kind of carving in relief, whereas the chaotic banding of agates is far better suited to engraving, or *intaglio*, work.

Used in Egypt as early as the third millennium BC for bowls and cups, onyx also was worked on Minoan Crete a millennium later, and it even appears at both ends of the Bible. In *Genesis*, it is said to come from the land of Havilah, probably the Hejaz Mountains of Yemen, and in *Revelation*, it is a prime component of the foundations of the City of God. Greek and Latin writers, however, knew that sardonyx itself came from India (although a German geologist now has located a source in Bulgaria). In modern gem lore, some of which goes back to antiquity, it confers strength and protection, enhancing willpower, integrity, stamina, and vigor. Supposedly it brings lasting happiness and stability to marriages and partnerships, and attracts friends and good fortune – reasons enough for its employment here, because in antiquity, drinking was always social.

One of the hardest semiprecious stones, scoring 7 out of 10 on the Mohs hardness scale, (sard)onyx is as hard as steel and is exceeded only by emerald and topaz at 8, corundum at 9, and diamond at 10. To carve it therefore required enormous skill and patience – workshop specialties in the Ptolemaic capital, Alexandria.

Having acquired it as a raw geode (a limestone nodule with a chalcedony core), the artist first would have cut it down to size, removing the limestone and about twenty to thirty percent of the core in order to get rid of its jagged edges, cracks, and other imperfections. Originally, then, the core must have been at least 10 inches – over 25 centimeters – in diameter: a rarity then and unheard of today. Then he would have heated it to intensify its color; polished it; and carved it with a fine drill, tiny chisels, and powdered corundum (a cutting agent) mixed with olive oil. The whole process, experts estimate, may have taken several years. (A replica made in Germany with modern power tools took more than six months.)

So the rewards that this bowl offers are simultaneously material, magical, aesthetic, sensory, sensual, and intellectual: delight at its colors, translucency, texture, and feel; happiness at its beneficial magical properties; awe at its size, rarity, intricacy, and virtuosity; pleasure at its delicacy, beauty, and

1. (*continued*)

decorates its underside. Proclaiming the benefits of Ptolemaic rule, it shows Hellenistic art at its finest, most complex, and most enigmatic. Its date, imagery, and patron(s) are controversial. It is uninscribed, cannot be dated stylistically, and idealizes its protagonists, inhibiting identification with particular Ptolemaic rulers. Diam. 8 in. (20 cm). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

2 For the sources of all quotations and references, see References on p. 333. Anatolia is roughly equivalent to present-day Turkey; often it is also called Asia Minor.

vividness; glee at its sensuous displays of naked flesh; and finally satisfaction at decoding its message – if one can.

A DISH FOR A KING

This dazzling object is known as the Tazza Farnese after its penultimate owners, an Italian princely family. ("Tazza" is Italian for "cup," "bowl," or "dish.") From its first documented appearance in AD 1239, its history reads like a Medieval and Renaissance *Who's Who*. Acquired in that year by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II from two itinerant merchants, it graced the courts of Samarkand, Aragon, Florence, Vienna, and Rome before eventually ending up in Naples.

Yet its elegant figured scene was first deciphered only in 1900 by the great German archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler. He realized that it celebrates the rule of the Ptolemies, the dynasty founded in Egypt in 323 by one of Alexander the Great's generals,[3] Ptolemy son of Lagos, and dated it to the *Hellenistic* period.[4] If – as is likely – the Tazza was made in Alexandria for the Ptolemies and predates the death in 30 of the last of them, Kleopatra VII (Figure 2), perhaps it first reached Europe as Roman loot.

A masterpiece both of Hellenistic craftsmanship and royal self-promotion, the Tazza vividly highlights some key aspects of Hellenistic art and thus of the chapters that follow. It deserves a closer look.

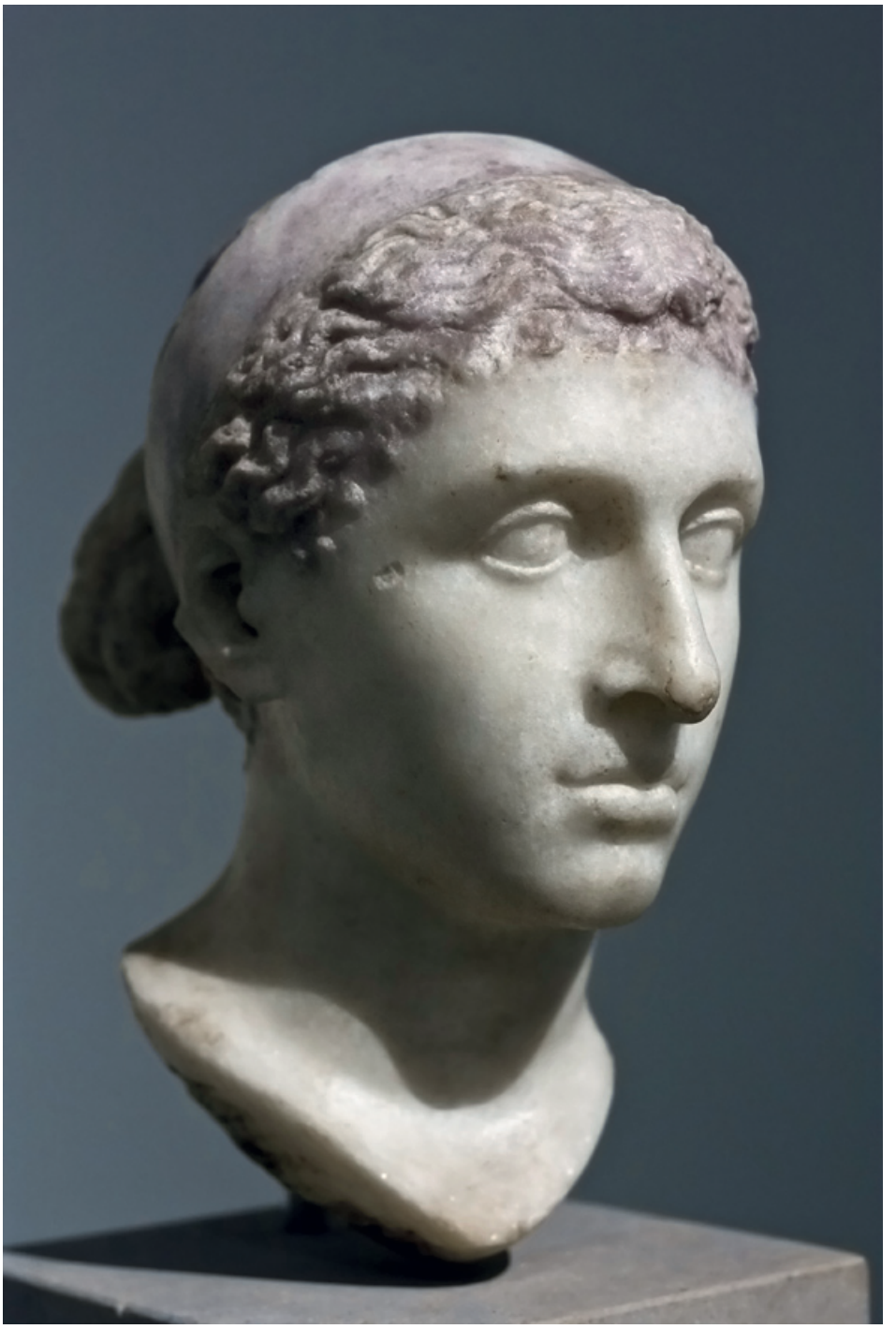
THE DECIPHERMENT

For the most part, Furtwängler's decipherment of the Tazza still stands, although other scholars have modified it somewhat and particularly have challenged his early Hellenistic (third-century) date for the piece. Rival interpretations of the scene have appeared from time to time, but mostly are based on false premises or the belief that it is an *allegory* – "a figurative treatment of one subject under the guise of another" – in short, a riddle.

Furtwängler realized that any interpretation must start from the sphinx and the voluptuous woman reclining on it. Because the sphinx must represent Egypt, the bare-breasted woman reclining on it should be the goddess Euthenia, the personification of abundance and consort of the life-giving Nile River. Alexandrian sculptures and coins often show her in this guise, ears of grain included. So the bearded old man with the cornucopia must be the Nile himself, the source of Egypt's prosperity and Euthenia's husband (in his Egyptian persona as Osiris, god of the Underworld, the earth, and its fruits – the Nile included). The youth striding between them with the seed bag, knife,

3 Henceforth, all dates are B.C. unless otherwise specified or obviously not so (e.g., in the previous sentence, "the elegant scene … was first deciphered only in 1900").

4 "Hellenistic" simply means "late Greek." Coined in the nineteenth century, the term describes Greek art and culture from Alexander's death in 323 through the last Ptolemaic ruler, Kleopatra VII, the Roman conquest of her kingdom in 30, and the foundation of the Roman Empire.



2. Queen Kleopatra VII Philopator Thea of Egypt (reigned 51–30). This superb marble portrait was carved for insertion in a draped body, probably of a different stone. On her coins, she is sharp-featured, with a prominent chin and aquiline nose, and Plutarch notes that she was not conventionally beautiful. This portrait idealizes her in the guise of her divine avatar, Aphrodite, and her great predecessor, the deified Queen Arsinoe II, sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos from 275 to 269. H 11 1/2 in. (29.5 cm). Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Antikensammlung).

and plough must then be their son, Horus (Greek Triptolemos), to whom the gods gave grain to sow upon the earth.

As for the spectators, the two other topless women should be two of the three Egyptian Seasons. The one with the cup signals the Nile flood that began in mid-July of each year, and the one reclining on the wheat sheaf represents the harvest in March/April. Finally, the two flying youths at the top must be the Etesian Winds (the modern *Meltemi*), which blow into Egypt from the north in June and were popularly thought to trigger the flood by backing up the river. The message is clear, definitely not riddling (despite its richness and complexity), and easily summarized. Egypt flourishes under Ptolemaic rule, beloved by the gods.

Yet research is never static. In particular, some now think that the sphinx, Euthenia, and Horus/Triptolemos should represent actual members of the Ptolemaic ruling family (King, Queen, and Crown Prince, respectively), especially since their accessories, or *attributes*, all line up, and Euthenia seems to wear a royal ribbon, or *diadem*, in her hair. But if so, which Ptolemies? Suggested candidates include several late second-century ones; the aforementioned last ruler of the dynasty, Kleopatra VII (Figure 2); and even the first Roman governor of Egypt, the soldier-poet Gaius Cornelius Gallus.[5]

Within its diminutive compass (eight inches, eight figures), then, the Tazza embraces the entire world of the Ptolemies: their home, their inheritance, their wealth, and their hopes – literally a cameo kingdom. Yet it bears no inscription; the styles of its figures are not specific to any particular era but were chosen to fit each particular character from the assortment then available; and their faces are generic also – like most Ptolemaic portraits, presumably in order to advertise the regime's solidarity, stability, and perfection, but inhibiting individual identification. The debate continues.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

This debate raises a number of issues that are particularly characteristic of Hellenistic art, as follows:

- The Tazza is an exotic luxury object, exquisitely crafted for the wealthy elite – a Ptolemaic courtier, one of the royal family, or perhaps even the king or queen themselves.
- It testifies to the regime's unprecedented command of scarce resources, both material and human.
- It adapts the imagery and art styles of the classical Greek city states, or *poleis* (singular *polis*) to the Hellenistic world of kings, courts, and empires.
- It blends these elements with others borrowed from the conquered and colonized.

5 Horus/Triptolemos wears a mustache but no beard, like the Gauls or Celts (see Figures 41–42), prompting the suggestion that he is punning on Gallus's name. Alternatively, as J.J. Pollitt once remarked, "is there some subtle political allusion (e.g., the need for beating swords into ploughshares) that we miss?"

- It offers a complex, self-referential, and multilayered (but not riddling) narrative about the prosperity of Egypt and its inhabitants under Ptolemaic rule.
- It makes liberal use of tendentious *personifications*, mixing them with "real" characters (mythological, historical, and contemporary), to create eye-catching, often politically charged, scenarios or "pageants."
- It puts style to work politically, in that alongside its many symbols of prosperity, the voluptuous women evoke the opulence, or *tryphē* (see Chapters 1 and 9), that the Ptolemies claimed to epitomize their regime.[6]
- Its decipherment takes time, patience, insight, and some knowledge of Hellenistic history and culture, and thus remains an ongoing process.
- And finally, for all these reasons, it is hard to date.

Two thoughts come immediately to mind. First, to classify the Tazza – an elite object of dazzling sophistication – among the so-called minor arts (a modern label, not an ancient one), is simply absurd. Indeed, not least *because of* its small size, it casts most of the monumental sculptures and paintings in this book into the shade. The value-free term "luxury crafts," which carries no such pejorative connotations, is far better.

Secondly, in order to understand any of this, we require some knowledge of the Tazza's *context* – real or reconstructed. Contexts delimit options, focus interpretations, enrich meanings, and open doors to understanding. Without knowing, for example, who these Ptolemies were, where and when they ruled, and what they did, said, and aspired to, our take on the Tazza would be impoverished indeed, perhaps even comically wrong.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

Yet even so, any reader who has never heard of the Ptolemies can be forgiven. Less than two centuries after they fell, and exaggerating only slightly, the savvy Roman-period traveler Pausanias confessed that, "The age of Attalos and Ptolemy is so remote that memory of it has perished, and the writings of the historians whom the kings got to record their deeds fell into neglect still sooner."[7] So, although these dynasties were among the Hellenistic world's luckiest and most powerful, later Greeks and Romans had to be reminded who they were.

One reason for this collective amnesia about Alexander's successors was his own uniqueness (Figure 3). Only the heroes of legend and, eventually, the gods offered any kind of a precedent. Just five-and-a-half feet tall and barely out of his teens, but a colossus beyond compare, he dwarfed them

6 A second-century Ptolemaic princess and a first-century Ptolemaic queen were even named *Tryphaina*, "Opulent One," and the father of the first of them, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, was so obese that the Alexandrians nicknamed him Physkon, "Fatso."

7 Attalos: Attalos I Soter, a king of Hellenistic Pergamon (see Figures 33–34), who also will feature prominently in this book.

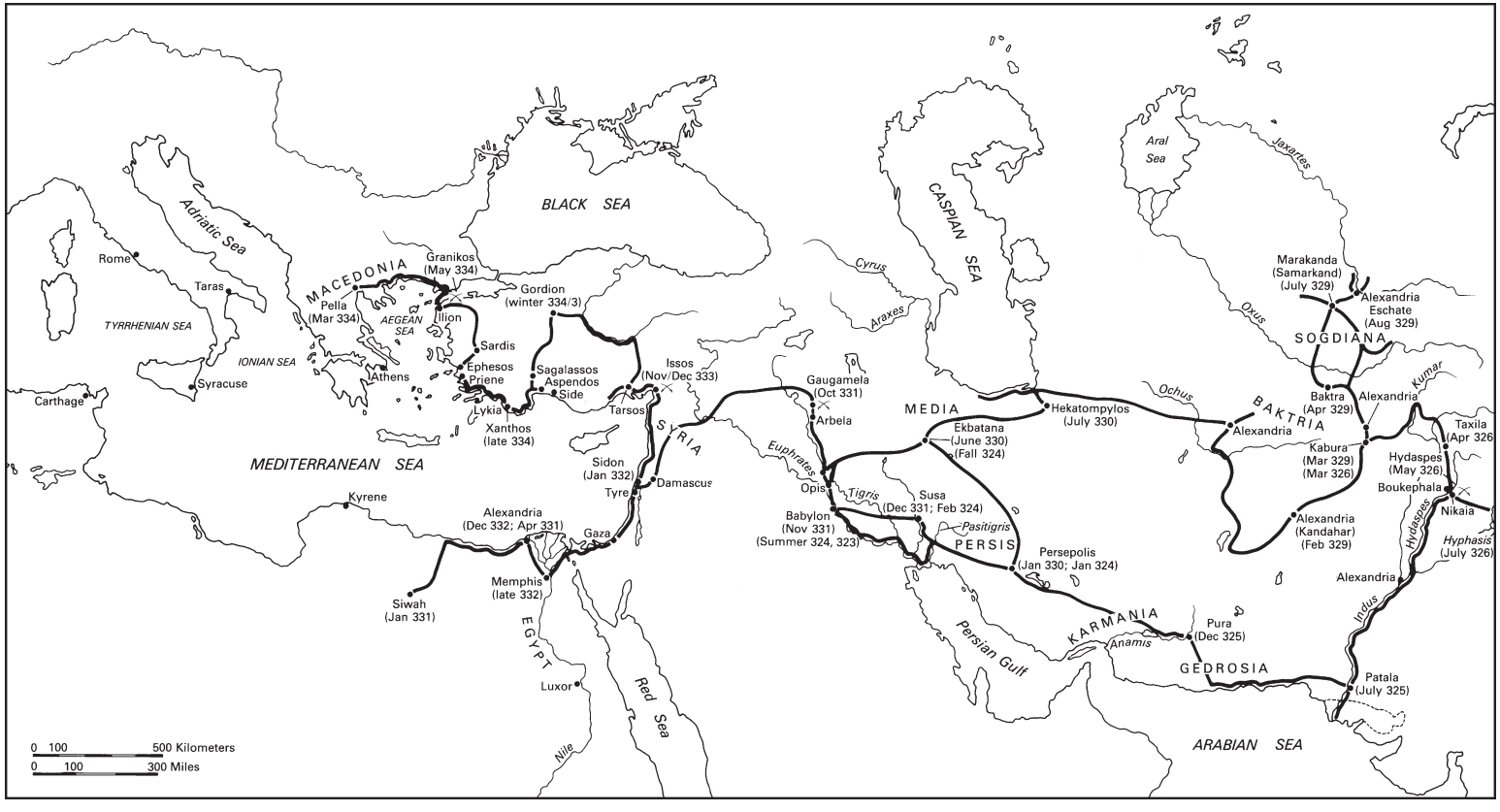


3. Alexander rides into battle, detail of the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun at Pompeii (Figure 37), late second century, after a four-color painting of ca. 330–300. Determined to kill or capture King Darius, Alexander looks almost demonic, his lips pursed, eyes blazing, and hair streaming in the wind. The mosaic technique, known by its Latin name of *opus vermiculatum* ("wormy work"), imitates a painter's palette and brushstrokes by using thousands of tiny, individually cut stone and glass cubes, or *tesserae*. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

all: predecessors, contemporaries, and successors combined. For the historical firestorm he ignited, see the Timeline at the end of this book.

Born in 356 to King Philip II of Macedon and his formidable wife, Olympias, Alexander burst upon the Greek world when only eighteen years old. In August 338, he led the cavalry charge that smashed the Athenian and Theban armies at Chaironeia in central Greece and established his father Philip as "leader" (*hēgemōn*) of the Greeks. Less than two years later, Philip fell to an assassin's dagger while preparing to invade the Persian Empire, and Alexander unexpectedly found himself both king and heir to his father's ambitions. A superb horseman, fearless fighter, military genius, ruthless administrator, and last but not least, a formidable drinker, he swiftly put down a Theban rebellion and invaded Persia in the spring of 336.

Conqueror of Anatolia, Egypt, the Near East, and Persia at age twenty-five, and of Baktria (Afghanistan) and northwest India at age thirty, by 323 Alexander ruled the largest empire yet seen on this planet (Map 1): more than *two million* square miles of it. Ever striving to outdo his heroic ancestors, Herakles and Achilles, and allegedly keeping Homer's *Iliad* under his pillow (all twenty-four books of it?), he regarded the king of the gods, Zeus-



Map 1. Map of Alexander's campaign of conquest. At his death on June 10, 323, he ruled 2 million square miles of the earth's surface: the largest empire yet seen on this planet.



4. The “Nelidow” Alexander, Hellenistic bronze statuette after a large-scale portrait of ca. 330 probably by Lysippos. Hand on hip and arm raised to hold his trademark spear (now lost), the king strides imperiously forward: a new Achilles waging a new Trojan War to the ends of the earth. The spear, its butt planted firmly on the ground, marked his conquests as “spear-won land,” which by Macedonian custom became royal property. The triumphant toss of his head inspired a contemporary couplet: “This statue seems to look at Father Zeus and say: / ‘You keep Olympos! Me let Earth obey!’” H 4 in. (10 cm). Cambridge, MA, Sackler Museum, Harvard University.

Amun,[8] as his "real" father and brooked no bounds to his power. He wanted it all: Asia, Africa, and Europe together. Hence an epigram appended to one of the sculptor Lysippos's bronzes of him (compare Figure 4):

> This statue seems to look at Father Zeus and say:
> "You keep Olympos! Me let Earth obey!"

The colossus's sudden demise in June 323, aged only thirty-three, plunged this sprawling realm into a state of shock. (Some refused to believe it. One Athenian wit even quipped that he could not be dead or the whole world would be stinking of his corpse.) Greece immediately exploded into rebellion. Although it was quickly crushed, Alexander's generals had already begun to quarrel with each other and soon began to carve up this vast legacy. The Hellenistic world had begun.

By 275, three major kingdoms, each founded by one of these generals, had emerged from the chaos (Map 2); a fourth dominated the Greek west, which Alexander had never traversed. The Antigonids ruled Macedon and much of Greece; the Seleukids had seized the bulk of Alexander's empire from Anatolia almost to the Indus; the Ptolemies presided over Egypt, the eastern Mediterranean coast, parts of southern Anatolia, and several key Aegean islands; and the Syracusan kings intermittently controlled Greek Sicily and southern Italy.

These and other, lesser, dynasties jostled for power and prestige throughout the third century, and most of them continued to do so long after the Romans appeared on the scene. Yet even before 200, Rome had conquered the western Greeks and had begun to intervene in mainland Greece itself; Parthian nomads had penetrated northern Iran; and native revolts had broken out in Upper Egypt. The Seleukids, massively overextended, fared particularly badly. In northwestern Anatolia, Attalos I of Pergamon (see Figure 34) seized a good slice of their territory and reaped great *kudos* for defeating the invading Celts; and in far-off Baktria, similar forces produced a new, dynamic Hellenistic kingdom that under Eukratides I (see Figure 35) even recovered northwest India until it was fragmented by internal strife.

By the mid-second century, the east-west vise had begun to close in earnest. The Parthians invaded central and southern Iran, isolating Baktria and the Indo-Greek kingdoms and threatening the Seleukid heartland. Around 140, Baktria itself fell to other nomad invaders, isolating the Indo-Greeks until they, too, eventually succumbed to native pressure. Meanwhile, renewed Macedonian and Seleukid attempts at regional hegemony in Greece and Anatolia had brought only defeat and humiliation by Rome in 196 and 188, respectively. A final Macedonian push a generation later resulted in the kingdom's dismemberment in 167 and occupation by Rome in 148, and the interminable Seleukid infighting that followed Antiochos IV's death in 164 eventually doomed them, too. Lastly, in 133 Attalos III of Pergamon willed his kingdom to Rome as an insurance policy against assassination, then promptly (and mysteriously) died.

In the early first century, two powerful counteroffensives by the half-Iranian king of Pontos in northern Anatolia, Mithradates VI (see Figure 36B),

8 Amun was the Egyptian equivalent of Zeus, king of the gods and divine creator.



Map 2. The kingdoms of Alexander's successors in 275. After forty years of conflict, three major ones emerged: Antigonid Macedon, Seleukid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt. They dominated the Hellenistic world through the coming of Rome, ca. 200. Thereafter, even though they continued to shrink steadily in territory, power, and prestige, they maintained a twilight existence until the Romans eventually conquered them: Macedon in 168 and 146, Syria in 64, and Egypt in 30.



5. Temple of Athena at Priene in western Anatolia (Turkey). Designed in the 340s by the city's native son, the great architect Pytheos, but not completed for 300 years, it exemplified the so-called Ionian renaissance in architecture; its southeast corner also anchored the city's grid. Unfortunately, in 1965–66 a contractor, working independently, reerected five of its columns incorrectly, omitting part of their bases and several upper drums, making them almost 10 ft. shorter than they should be. By the late second century, the temple housed a colossal replica of Pheidias's fifth-century Athena Parthenos at Athens as a cult image. Original column H 37 ft. 5 in. (11.4 m); present H ca. 28 ft. (8.5 m).

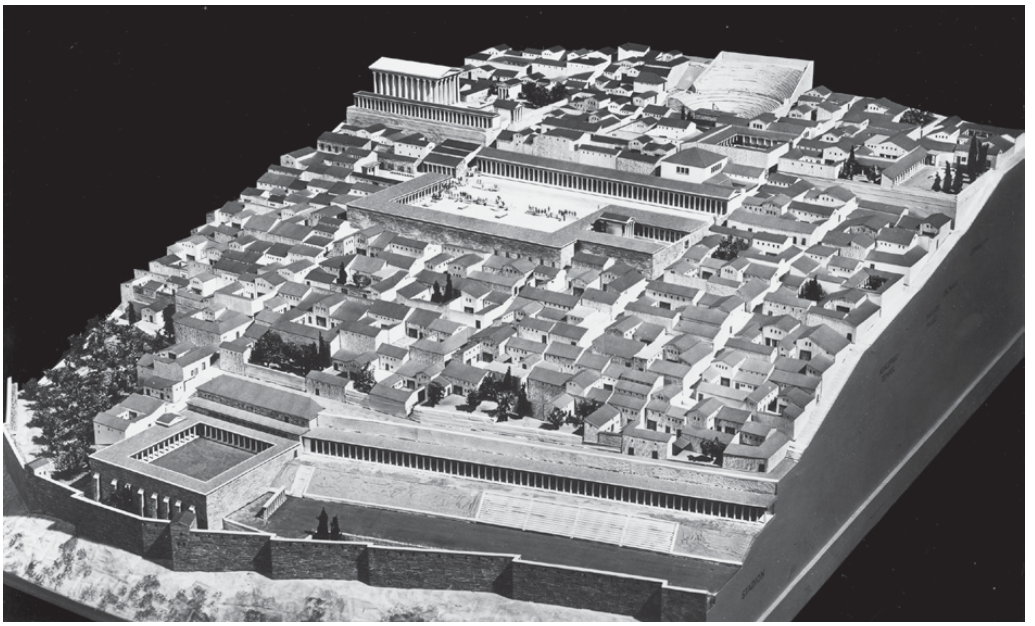
although temporarily successful, also failed to stem the Roman tide. By mid-century, this tide had swept away the pitiful remains of the Seleukid Empire and swallowed Anatolia and the entire Hellenistic East, except for Ptolemaic Egypt and the increasingly expansionist Parthians.

Under the Ptolemaic kingdom's last ruler, however, the formidable Queen Kleopatra VII (reigned 51–30; Figure 2), it enjoyed a final, fleeting moment of glory. This Ptolemaic Indian summer, however, ended abruptly and violently in 31 when Octavian, Julius Caesar's adopted son and the Roman lord of the West, defeated Kleopatra and her Roman lover and consort, M. Antonius (Mark Antony) at Actium. One year later, as he besieged Alexandria and then took it, their suicides finally rang down the curtain on the Hellenistic world.

So much for Hellenistic history. What of Hellenistic art?

A CULTURE OF IMAGES

In the Hellenistic world, especially around the Mediterranean shore, art was everywhere. This was a culture of images.



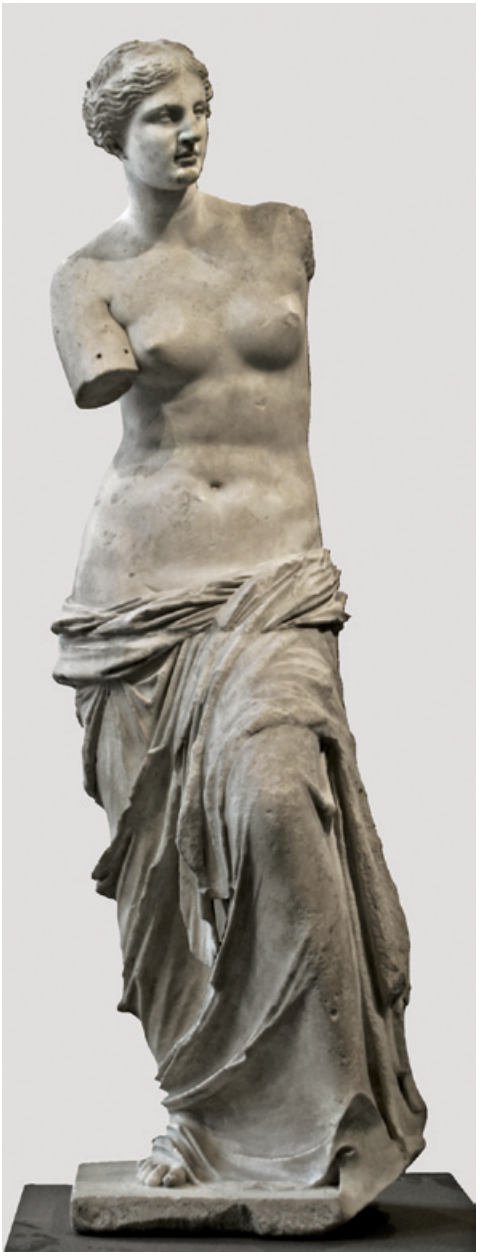
6. Reconstruction of the city of Priene. Its north-south/east-west grid plan was laid out ca. 350 around a central agora and the city's major sanctuaries and public buildings. The streets mostly stop short of the city walls, creating a green belt for rapid troop movements during an attack. They vary in width from 13 1/2 to 24 Attic ft. (an Attic ft. equals approximately 11.6 in., or 29.6 cm) according to their importance, and divide the city into 120 × 160 ft. blocks. Under the streets, terracotta pipes carried spring water from the akropolis to public fountains and some lucky houses; others drained the city's sewage.

Today, art is created mostly for personal enjoyment, but much Hellenistic art was also broadly religious and/or political (in the ancient world, the two are often inseparable). It was intended to please, placate, or publicize the powerful, including gods, heroes, kings, politicians, officials, and the dead; to make them continually present – literally to *re-present* them – to the living; and to make the living eternally present to them and to each other.

Every city had its sanctuaries, altars, and temples (Figure 5); its cemeteries; its town center, or *agora*; and (increasingly) its civic buildings, colonnades, theater, and *gymnasium*; and of course its houses (Figure 6). All could be showplaces for sculpture (the Venus de Milo, for example, embellished an island gymnasium: Figure 7), and some for painting and mosaic, as well. Local, regional, and international sanctuaries received similar, often competitive, attention from the clienteles they served.

This huge investment in monumental, psychologically uplifting, and basically didactic *display* and its unique culture of images differentiates the Greeks decisively from their ancient contemporaries and from the modern West. Through images, they represented themselves both to each other and to the "barbarians" among and around them.

Some of this art, from temples to coins, was commissioned by kings and cities, but much of it was made for private associations, clubs, families, and



7. The "Venus de Milo," ca. 150–100. This over-life-size Aphrodite stood in the *gymnasium* of the Aegean island of Melos, where it symbolized the bonds of affection uniting the community's youth. Discovered in 1820 near a niche, along with a base signed by Alexandros of Antioch on the Maeander, it was soon attributed to the great Praxiteles (active ca. 370–330), and the signed base promptly disappeared. The left arm probably rested on a herm and held an apple. The statue combines a Praxitelean head and torso with a twisting, zigzag Hellenistic pose and rich, three-dimensional drapery. Its sensuous juxtaposition of flesh and drapery adds a note of erotic tension that is thoroughly Hellenistic, helping to account for the statue's current reputation. H 6 ft. 8 1/3 in. (2.04 m). Paris, Louvre.



8. Laokoon, by Hagesandros, Athanodoros, and Polydoros of Rhodes, ca. 50–25. Intending to warn the Trojans not to trust the Wooden Horse left by the supposedly retreating Greeks, Laokoon and his sons are killed by two enormous snakes sent by Poseidon to silence him. The product of a baroque revival in late Republican Rome, it was praised as "superior to any painting and any bronze," not least because supposedly it was carved from a single block of Parian marble. In fact, it uses seven. Discovered in Rome in 1506, it immediately became the most influential sculpture from antiquity. The same trio of artists, specializing in high-quality baroque versions of earlier artworks on heroic and tragic themes, later signed the "Odyssey in marble" from the Sperlonga cave (see Figures 66–67, 168). For this commission, however, they used marble from the newly discovered Anatolian quarries at Dokimeion/Synnada that could produce huge, flawless blocks weighing 50 tons or more. H 6 ft. 1/2 in. (1.84 m). Vatican Museums.

individuals. Usually produced to order, it was the result of a four-way negotiation among patrons, artists, contexts, and genres. Patrons and artists need no further discussion at this point (on what we know of the latter, see Appendix A), but the other two probably do.

As we have seen, *contexts* are important, since they guide and often limit choices. The Tazza (Figure 1), for example, is an elite object, inappropriate for public circulation and use, and its imagery was specifically Ptolemaic, inappropriate for the Antigonids or Seleukids. Colossal or over-life-size statues were appropriate in some contexts (for example, as a cult group in a temple or a king's portrait in his own capital), but definitely not in others (private houses or cemeteries). And so on.

As for *genres* – things that are recognizable as a class, such as today's vampire movies, rap songs, romance novels, laptops, and SUVs – these develop their own local histories and connotations. As a result, the Hellenistic world soon came to regard certain styles as appropriate to particular genres. *Classicism* – authoritative and restrained – was deemed particularly fitting for the gods (Figure 7); the flamboyant *baroque* for victory dedications and heroic narrative (Figure 8); and so on. (See Box 1: "Classicism and the Baroque")

BOX 1. CLASSICISM AND THE BAROQUE

Classicism Although a good working definition of a classic is "anything that sets a standard," in Hellenistic art and archaeology it refers to a specific style. Hellenistic classicism (or neo-classicism) seeks to perpetuate, revive, and/or modernize the achievements of leading classical-period sculptors, such as Pheidias (active ca. 450; see Figure 167) and Praxiteles (ca. 350; see Figure 104), and – although here the evidence is far weaker – painters, such as Polygnotos (ca. 460), Parrhasios and Zeuxis (ca. 400), and Nikias, Protogenes, and Apelles (ca. 330). Never dormant, it became particularly influential across the board during the second century.

Hellenistic neo-classicists, such as the Athenian Polykles family, Damophon of Messene (see Chapter 7 and Figures 94–95), and others (Figure 7), often specializing in images of the gods, prized Pheidian consistency, clarity, balance, harmony, restraint, and supremacy of formal design, tempered where appropriate with Praxitelean *sfumato*, delicacy, and refinement. Thus, depending on their subject matter (say, Athena or Aphrodite), they oscillated between Pheidian grandeur and majesty – later singled out as "adding something to the traditional religion" – and Praxitelean grace, sensuality, and sheer tactile presence.

Hellenistic portraitists and others borrowed freely from this classical treasure trove, again as appropriate to subject matter and context (see, for example, Figure 100). Hellenistic architects, too, developed their own versions of it, using similar criteria and pursuing similar goals (see, for example,

BOX 1 (continued)

Figures 48–49). Many contemporary orators also took this purist path, earning themselves the moniker of "Atticists" for their imitations of the great Athenian stylists Xenophon (ca. 430–354), Demosthenes (384–322), and others.

Baroque While neo-classicism sought calm, clarity, grandeur, and majesty, the baroque (a term coined in the 1700s to describe and decry the supposedly crude excesses of much seventeenth-century art) exudes energy, movement, exuberance, tension, emotion, and drama. As well as inventing new stylistic devices, it takes classical formulae for postures, gestures, drapery, and features, and systematically ratchets them up to achieve new heights of expressive intensity.

Probably developed from fourth-century painting (see Figure 147), it was particularly at home in Anatolia, where "Asiatic" rhetoric apparently pursued similar goals and developed along similar lines. Rarely employed for cult statues, it was particularly suited to dramatic, tragic, and heroic narrative (see Chapters 3, 5, and Figures 8, 41–45, 58–60, 64–67), and to energetic, formidable, larger-than-life figures, such as Herakles and Nike (see Figures 46, 63). As with neoclassicism, Hellenistic portraitists and others also freely used it where appropriate (see, for example, Figure 74).

Yet the mainland Greeks, having little occasion for such grand gestures and heavily invested in neoclassicism, largely shunned this kind of sculpture, and Alexandrians also seem to have been lukewarm about it. Alexandrian architects and their colleagues on the kingdom's periphery, however, enthusiastically embraced it, producing virtuoso monuments such as the Khazneh at Petra (see Chapter 1 and Figure 18). It also fared poorly with later Hellenistic and Roman connoisseurs, who converted en masse to Atticism. This ensured that much of it is lost without trace or copy. Most Hellenistic "Asiatic" literature has suffered a similar fate.

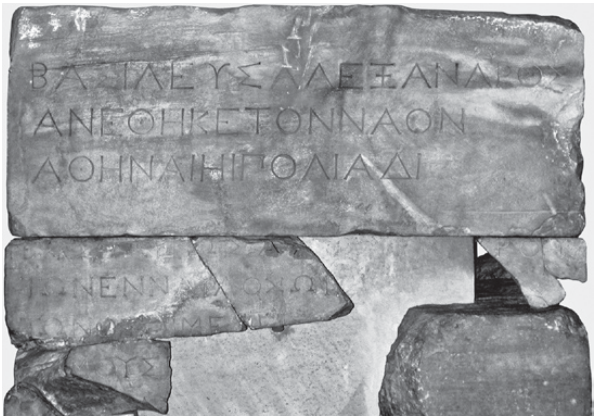
HELLENISTIC ART

Let us revisit these observations, recast them, and add some others that the Tazza (Figure 1) speaks to only obliquely or not at all. For the period saw many different, often conflicting, trends at work, some of which began before Alexander's reign, some during it, and some after it. All of them, however, soon combined to create the unique, sprawling, diverse culture from Italy to India that today we call Hellenistic. They include

(1) The **adaptation** of the arts of the independent Greek city-state, or *polis*, to the novel requirements of the Hellenistic kings, courts, and empires; and especially to the new cult of the ruler, who was now worshiped like or even as a god;

(2) The endemic **warfare** among the Hellenistic kingdoms and the violent swings of fortune and obsession with victory (see Chapter 3) that these conflicts created;
(3) The political and economic **marginalization** of Greece and the Aegean, formerly the heart of the Greek world;
(4) The need to **service** these older communities, the new ones now scattered across the former Persian Empire, the indigenous populations there, and eventually the Romans, as well;
(5) The consequent **fragmentation** of the formerly quite homogeneous audience(s) for Greek art into different **communities of response**, with their own histories, traditions, values, opinions, prejudices, and expectations;
(6) The **interpenetration** of the cultures and economies of the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Near East, facilitating the rapid **diffusion** of fashions, motifs, styles, and ideas;
(7) The enormous impact of the vast Persian **treasure** seized by Alexander and augmented by his successors (see Box 2, p. 23: "Hellenistic Money"); and the voracious demand for **luxuries** (like the Tazza itself: Figure 1) that it created;
(8) The sudden availability of a vast new array of hitherto scarce or untapped **resources**, both material and human, and a readiness among both patrons and artists to exploit them to the fullest;
(9) The practice of **benefaction**, championed by Alexander himself (Figures 5, 9; see Chapter 4), whereby kings, their followers, members of the elite, and even artists competed for prestige and goodwill by endowing cities with buildings, artworks, and other gifts;
(10) The enthronement of classical (fifth- and fourth-century) **Athens**, now politically impotent, as the Hellenistic world's cultural center because of its unique contributions to Greek literature, philosophy, politics, and art; and of Athenian **classicism** (Figure 7) as the "default style" in the verbal and visual arts;
(11) The rise of private **associations** and **clubs**, including the philosophical schools,[9] actors' and merchants' guilds, and others, several of them vigorous patrons of the arts;
(12) The predominance of the **individual** over the collective, propelling **portraiture** to the forefront of the arts;
(13) The increasing belief that art's primary goal was to capture or enhance **appearances**, not to render a preconceived ideal;
(14) The understanding that styles have their own histories and encode their own meanings, and thus that particular styles are appropriate to particular subjects and **genres**: classicism to the gods, for example (Figure 7; see Box 1, p. 17: "Classicism and the Baroque," and Chapter 7); and

9 Most importantly, the Peripatetics (Aristotelians), Academics (Platonists), Stoics, Epicureans, Skeptics, and Cynics.



9. Dedicatory inscription from the temple of Athena at Priene (Figure 5), 334. Cut on a porch block, it reads: "King Alexander dedicated the temple to Athena Polias." Complementing his decree excusing Priene from contributing to his war chest, it probably commemorates a donation of his to speed construction. Athena was his expedition's patron, and her temples at Athens (the Parthenon) and elsewhere had already benefited from his generosity and desire to avenge the Persian outrages of 480, their sack of the Akropolis included. By the late second century, the temple boasted a colossal replica of the Athena Parthenos as a cult image. Letter H 2–2 1/6 in. (5.0–5.5 cm). London, British Museum.

the baroque to victory dedications (see Box 1 and Chapter 3) and heroic narrative (Figure 8; see Chapter 5);

(15) And last but definitely not least, the ascendancy of **rhetoric** and of rhetorical education, and their increasing impact on artists and public alike.

Enough of lists. How do we know all of this?

SOURCES

All history writing depends on sources. I could not have written the preceding pages – at least, not accurately – without consulting two kinds of sources: primary and secondary.

Our **primary sources** are the Hellenistic buildings, sculptures, mosaics, paintings, and so on that survive, and ancient writings about them. They subdivide into two classes: **contemporary** ancient sources and **later** but still ancient ones. Contemporary sources for Hellenistic art are the period's material remains (buildings, artworks, and other objects: Figures 1–2, 5, 7–8) and contemporary texts (inscriptions and literary works: Figures 9–10). The later ancient sources include later Hellenistic and Roman reproductions of (now-lost) Hellenistic statues and paintings (Figures 3–4), and texts of the same period.

These primary sources are the most valuable but the least abundant. Later builders and medieval religious zealots destroyed much Hellenistic architecture and sculpture for their own projects, both demolishing buildings and breaking up vast quantities of marble for building material or burning



10. Epigram collection attributed to Poseidippos of Pella, papyrus from Egypt, ca. 200. Around 150, it was reused to wrap a mummy and pierced for fastenings. Poseidippos (ca. 320–250) was a leading Alexandrian poet, and the papyrus contains epigrams about gemstones, omens, dedications, tombs, statues, equestrian victors, shipwrecks, cures, and characters. The section illustrated includes nine poems on statues. One acclaims the "new grace" of the great fourth-century sculptor Lysippos, and another praises a certain Hekataios for the realism of his portrait of the poet Philitas (for translations see Chapters 6, 12; and see Figure 76). H 7 3/4 in. (19.6 cm). Milan University.

it to make lime mortar. Medieval hunger for metal and hatred of paganism also condemned almost all Hellenistic gold, silver, and bronze to the melting pot, together with the lead-encased iron clamps and dowels that bonded the joints of cut stone buildings. All the great wall and panel paintings have vanished, too, although spectacular discoveries of numerous frescoed tombs in

Macedon and a few elsewhere spotlight this art at the beginning of our period (see, for example, Figure 147), and Roman paintings pick up the story at the end of it (see, for example, Figures 162, 165, 166). The handbooks written by Hellenistic architects and artists are all lost but for a few quotations, and with few exceptions (Figure 10), their contemporaries usually mention the visual arts only in passing.

But the picture is less bleak than it seems. Many carved funerary and *votive* reliefs and some architectural sculptures (see, for example, Figures 57–62, 98) survive, particularly at Pergamon and elsewhere in Anatolia; marble votive statues and portraits, too, are quite plentiful (see, for example, Figures 2, 7, 33–34, 86); ancient wrecks have yielded many Hellenistic bronzes (see, for example, Figures 68, 69, 71); and some temples and other buildings still stand, albeit in ruin, or have been reerected (see, for example, Figures 5, 48–51). Terracotta statuettes survive in considerable quantities (see, for example, Figures 152, 153), and pots have fared particularly well. Although the red-figured pottery of Athens, southern Italy, and Sicily died out at the start of our period, excavations in Italy, Greece, Anatolia, and Egypt have yielded some polychrome vessels (see, for example, Figures 154, 156) and numerous black- and red-glazed relief ones. Mosaics, too, are relatively plentiful (see, for example, Figures 116–21). Moreover, when unlooted, the aforementioned Macedonian tombs and others often contain luxury vessels in bronze, silver, and gold, as well as jewelry (see, for example, Figures 132, 135, 146, 149). Engraved gems (e.g., Figures 24, 30, 133), cameos (Figure 1), and coins (see Box 2, p. 23: "Hellenistic Money," and, for example, Figures 26, 28, 35, 36) are numerous, the latter often found in datable hoards. Finally, many inscriptions (Figure 9) and some precious remarks about art by Hellenistic writers (Figure 10) survive and help us interpret the material remains.

The later ancient sources also help to bridge some of the gaps. Romans liked reproductions of Hellenistic sculptures for their public buildings, villas, and gardens (see, for example, Figures 22, 23, 27, 29, 41, 76–78), and of Hellenistic paintings, too (see, for example, Figures 3, 37, 40, 162, 165, 166) – although the latter are often quite capricious. And besides offering valuable observations of their own, Roman-period writers quoted and paraphrased Greek ones in their writings about art. Three of these writers stand out, for their works have survived intact:

> *Vitruvius* (ca. 80–20), a practicing architect, has left us a ten-book treatise in Latin, entitled *On Architecture*. Relying heavily on classical and Hellenistic architectural and scientific treatises, he transmits a wealth of information about Hellenistic architects; their buildings, techniques, and writings; and their reception in contemporary Rome.
>
> *Pliny the Elder* (AD 23–79) wrote a Latin encyclopedia in thirty-seven books called *The Natural History*. Books 34–37 consider the representational arts under four heads: metals in book 34, with an emphasis on bronzes; earths, including pigments and paintings, in book 35; stones, especially carved marbles, in book 36; and gems

BOX 2. HELLENISTIC MONEY

Although Hellenistic money is not a prime focus of this book, it will appear in it quite often. Not only are the coins themselves often miniature masterpieces of relief sculpture (see, for example, Figures 26, 28, 35, 36), but values, costs, and payments will also obtrude from time to time. It is therefore useful to know something about it.

The Hellenistic world calculated wages and prices in silver and by weight, mostly using the Athenian or *Attic* weight standard, as follows:

1 *drachma* (dr.) weight of silver = 0.15 oz. or 4.3 grams
100 dr. = 1 *mina* = almost 1 lb. or 430 g
6,000 dr. = 60 minas = 1 *talent* = 57 lbs. or 25.8 kg

For comparison, daily wages varied enormously, from half a drachma for an unskilled laborer to up to four drachmas for a mercenary soldier.

Bronze and gold were measured on the same scale and using the same denominations. Yet whereas the bronze-silver ratio appears mostly to have remained stable at around 100:1, gold's comparative value vis-à-vis silver doubled during the period. Under Alexander, the gold-silver ratio had held steady at about 1:10 (i.e., 1 gold drachma cost 10 silver ones; 1 gold talent cost 10 silver ones). It soon began to increase, however, reaching 1:12 around 290 and later even touching 1:20. (For comparison, on October 16, 2013 the price of gold was $1,282/oz., or $41,220/kg, and that of silver was just over $21/oz., or $686/kg, a ratio of 61:1.) For the mountains of gold that Alexander had "liberated" from the Persian royal treasuries mostly were withheld from circulation and either turned into plate and jewelry or hoarded, whereas much of the silver was coined to pay for wars, armies, bounties, luxuries (such as mansions, food, wine, women, jewelry, and plate), prestige projects, and city foundations.

The period also saw a tendency to reduce the weights of these silver coins, which nevertheless retained their face values, and eventually (in Egypt) even largely to replace them with bronze ones – a purely *fiduciary*, or faith-based, coinage, like ours today. (Banknotes, invented in China in the seventh century AD and gradually adopted in the West during the thirteenth century, are intrinsically worthless and so purely fiduciary, and the coins in our pockets are very nearly so.) The state, of course, appropriated the balance.

in book 37. Dependent largely on Greek sources and focusing on classical art, he tends to slight the Hellenistic period. Moreover, his detailed sculptural chronology (the only one extant, limited to bronzes) ends abruptly in the year 292, when allegedly "the art ceased," reviving only in the year 156 at the hands of "inferiors." Nevertheless, he lists more than fifty Hellenistic artists and sometimes describes their works.

Pausanias (ca. AD 130–200), a Greek travel writer probably from western Anatolia, wrote a ten-book *Description of Greece*. Although actually it covers only southern Greece, it is a gold mine of facts, observations, and opinions about everything he saw and heard, from sites and monuments to rituals, customs, legends, myths, and historical events. Although also heavily biased toward the classical period, it nevertheless conveys much information about the Hellenistic, especially if the works in question are classicizing.

Our **secondary sources** are the writings of others about all this: A continuous scholarly tradition that began as a trickle during the Renaissance, after the discovery of the Laokoon in 1506 (Figure 8); became a stream during the nineteenth century; and swelled into a roaring torrent in the twentieth. Obviously, most of these modern publications are of much less value as *evidence* than are the ancient, primary sources. This is why scholars usually cite them after they cite the ancient ones. Yet these modern works appeal to us in another way, through their interest as *interpretations*.

The modern foundations for understanding ancient art were laid in the eighteenth century by the discipline's founding father, the German humanist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68). Believing that "good taste was born under the blue skies of Greece" (although he never actually went there) and relying on sculpture collections in Rome and on Pliny and other ancient writers, he focused largely on the classical period, not the Hellenistic. The chronological scheme he devised, essentially still in use today, runs as follows:

Date BC	*Winckelmann*	*Current*
Before 450	"Older"	Archaic; Early Classic
450–400	"High/Sublime"	High Classic
400–330	"Beautiful"	Late Classic
330–Roman	"Imitators"	Hellenistic, Roman

Winckelmann initiated the systematic exploration of the world of ancient art, and – following Pliny – installed the Laokoon (Figure 8) at its apex, dating it as late as he dared, around 330. Yet his classicizing tastes and his dismissal of Hellenistic and Roman art as merely imitative created a prejudice against them that still persists today. The irony, of course, is that many of the works that he regarded as classical, including the Laokoon itself (Figure 8), were really Hellenistic, or even Roman.

The nineteenth century expanded these vistas in ways that Winckelmann could never have envisaged. The Venus de Milo (Figure 7) and Nike of Samothrace (see Figure 46) were discovered and brought to Paris from the Aegean in 1821 and 1863, respectively, although it took much time and wrangling before they, too, were fully accepted as Hellenistic. Systematic excavations began at Pergamon in 1878; at other Hellenistic sites shortly thereafter;

and in Afghanistan, India, and the Persian Gulf in the twentieth century. Simultaneously, scholars set about classifying, cataloging, researching, interpreting, and publishing this rapidly mounting haul of material, creating an industry that grows exponentially by the decade.

Yet in many respects the picture is far from rosy. Breakneck urbanization in the Mediterranean and Middle East is exposing ruins faster than archaeologists can excavate them and offering a bonanza to looters. Sites are being plundered, graves robbed, and contexts lost at an accelerating pace, and the illicit art market is thriving as never before. War, vandalism, and looting have ravaged, successively, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Egypt, and Syria, creating anarchy on the ground and devastating sites and museums alike. And nationalism, turf wars, scholarly squabbling and inertia, skyrocketing costs, and government austerity have retarded, or even thwarted, publication of much that has been recovered. This is an art, a culture, and an epoch under severe threat.

CODA

Hellenistic art is brilliant, diverse, often frustrating, frequently surprising, and always fascinating. Spanning three centuries, three continents, five major kingdoms and many lesser ones, hundreds of cities, and last but not least, Rome, it served a world that was rich, civilized, fractured, tumultuous, militaristic, insecure, often brutal, and as diverse as the art that it created. It is an art for our time.

1

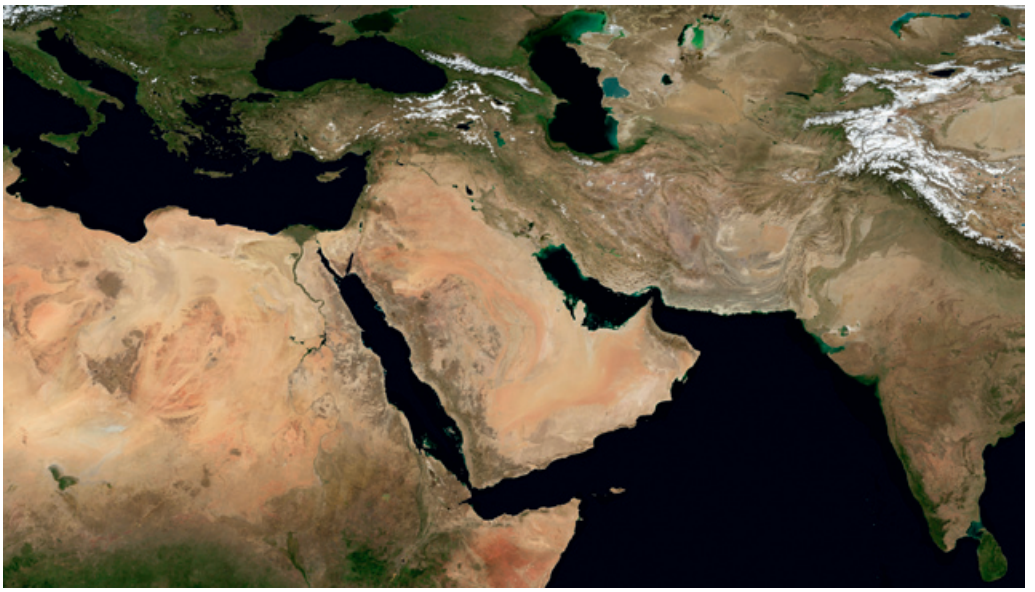
SETTLEMENT

Sprawling across two million square miles of the earth's surface, Alexander's empire (Map 1) was a geographic, ecological, ethnic, and cultural patchwork. Its multiple heartlands (Figure 11) included the rocky but intermittently lush Mediterranean coasts of Greece, Macedonia, and Anatolia; the abundant Nile Valley and Delta; the then "fertile crescent" of present-day Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq (watered by the Jordan, Orontes, Tigris, and Euphrates rivers); and, to the east, the high plains of Afghanistan and the vast and verdant Indus Valley.

Densely populated, these regions were ringed and punctuated by high peaks and arid deserts: the mountains of Greece; the dry Anatolian plateau and the Taurus Range that severs it from Syria; the Caucasus, linking the Black and Caspian seas; the Egyptian and Arabian deserts to the far south; the arid and mountainous Iranian plateau; and the mighty peaks of the Hindu Kush.

The Persian kings had controlled most of this vast area for two centuries, ruling a volatile collage of Greeks, Anatolians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Jews, Arabs, Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Baktrians, and Indians – to name but a few. Crisscrossed by a dense web of trade routes, their empire was highly urbanized and divided into two dozen provinces, or *satrapies*, each ruled by a provincial governor, or satrap (thus, for example, Hellenistic writers called the Iranian plateau the Upper Satrapies). Alexander inherited this system, and his successors happily perpetuated it.

The empire's material culture was equally diverse. For example, only in the third century was it more or less completely monetized; only the Greeks, Anatolians, Phoenicians, Jews, Egyptians, and Iranians built, variously, their city walls, temples, palaces, public buildings, and/or tombs in stone (the others preferred mud brick or, occasionally, fired brick); and only the Greeks, Anatolians, Egyptians, and Indians boasted living traditions of sculpture and



11. Southern Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India. This satellite image shows the extreme geographical and physical diversity of the Hellenistic world. The North African coast, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq, however, should be greener than shown, since today's widespread desiccation of the landscape had yet to come.

painting. So any traveler or would-be immigrant would have found its visual landscapes to be bewilderingly diverse.

GREECE, THE AEGEAN, ANATOLIA

"We sit," Sokrates once remarked, "like frogs around a pond." The Aegean is a relatively small sea, and Greece is a small country – quite mountainous and settled by Greeks for almost two millennia before our period (Figure 11; Map 3). Its older cities, or *poleis* (singular, *polis*), were largely unplanned; its roads were bad, usually mere tracks or rut-roads gouged by the wheels of countless oxcarts; and land transport was slow and expensive. If possible, heavy loads went by sea.

Within the city walls, a few main roads led directly from the gates to the marketplace, or *agora*, but the rest of town was threaded by narrow lanes lined with modest houses, usually of mud brick on stone foundations. The agora might boast a temple or two, usually of limestone, and perhaps a handful of civic buildings of either limestone or stuccoed brick, related to each other quite informally. By the Hellenistic period, recreational facilities could include a theater, hippodrome, stadium (*stadion*),[1]

1 Literally a "stade," or "600-foot," racetrack.



Map 3. Greece, the Aegean, and western Anatolia. Greeks had settled this area, their heartland, at the beginning of the second millennium BC.

and gymnasium (*gymnasion*)[2] with its associated school for combat sports, or *palaistra*.

Outside the gates, tombs flanked the major roads, because corpses were polluting and were banished beyond the walls. Shrines and altars to the gods

2 Literally a "stripping place" for exercise in the nude, but by the Hellenistic period increasingly comparable to a high school. At Athens, the two most important ones were Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum (Lykeion), both of which were situated outside the walls for the same reason that many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British "public" (i.e., private) schools and American liberal arts colleges were founded in the country, well away from the corrupting influence of the cities.

and heroes were everywhere: not only clustered in the agora and on the citadel, or *akropolis* (where a statue of the city's patron deity usually resided in a custom-built temple), but also scattered throughout the town and the surrounding countryside, or *chōra*.

The newer cities in Macedonia (which urbanized quite late) and the Greek colonies on the coasts of Anatolia, the Black Sea, North Africa, southern Italy, and Sicily sooner or later also enjoyed all or most of these facilities. Usually, however, they were laid out on a grid that in the colonies created roughly uniform parcels or lots for distribution among the colonists.

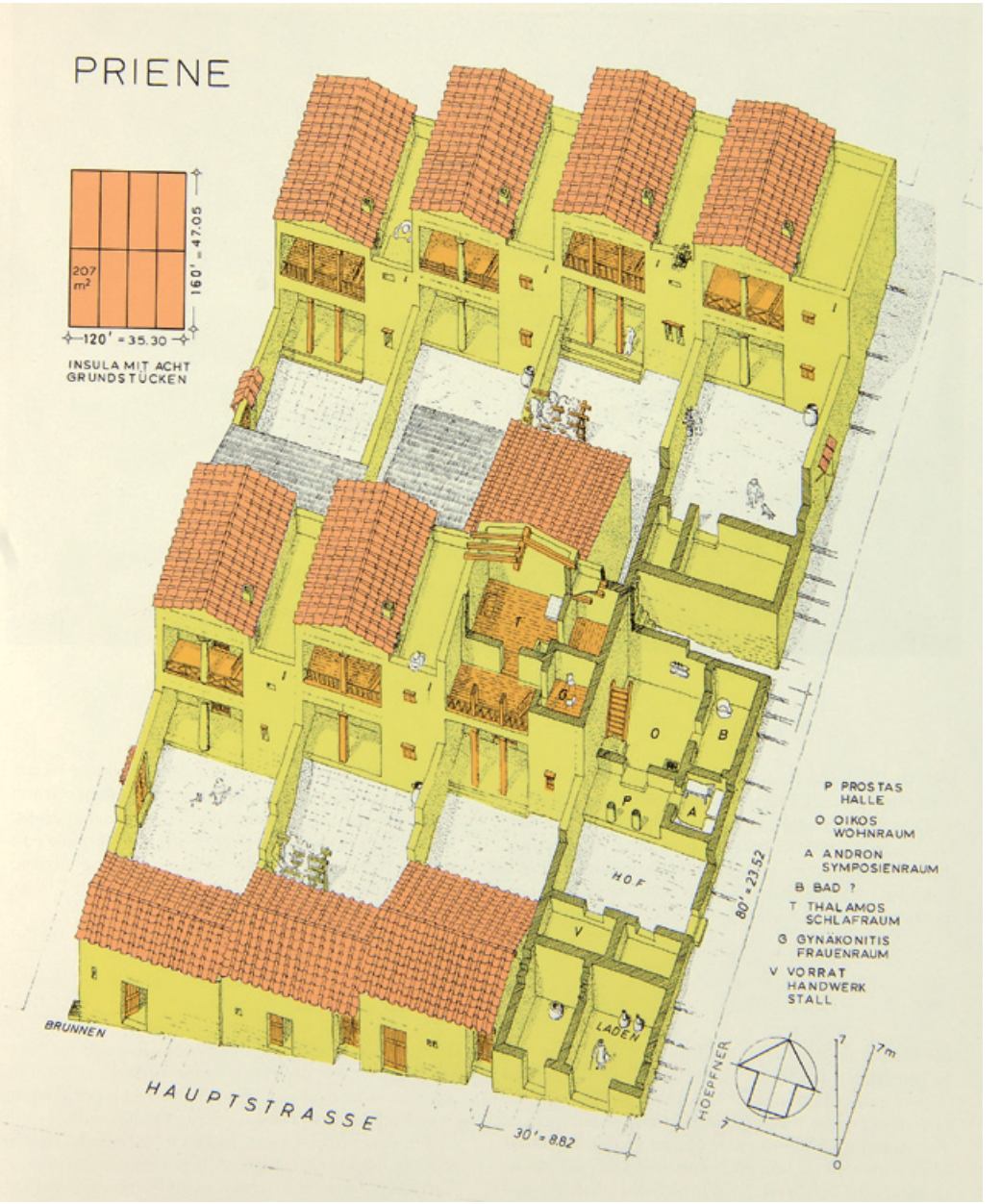
Greeks had founded these colonies in waves from the ninth century onward, but around 450, an urban theorist, Hippodamos of Miletos (on the Aegean coast of Anatolia), sought to rationalize the grid system, justifying his proposal in typically Greek fashion with an ideal constitution that divided the population, and thus the urban fabric, into farmers, artisans, and soldiers. His utopian ideas failed to catch on (the intellectual's curse), but his continuing reputation is such that ancient grid-planned cities are often still called Hippodamian, even though such plans predated him by centuries and the exact details of his system remain obscure.

Priene, near Miletos, is a fairly typical, mid-sized example of these newer cities. Refounded on an east-west, north-south grid around 350 (Figure 6) and elaborately terraced because of its sloping site, it housed around 5,000 people within its two-mile circuit of walls. The site was chosen because of its distance from the malarial swamps of the nearby Meander River and because of its towering akropolis, which overlooks the city's surrounding territory (*chōra*) and offers a constant flow of fresh spring water. As was typical for Hellenistic Greek cities, its constitution was democratic.

Like hilly, grid-planned American cities such as San Francisco, Priene blithely ignored its sloping terrain. Its grid's starting point was the southeast corner of a new Ionic temple to the city goddess, Athena. Designed by its native son, the great architect Pytheos (Figure 5), and made of marble, the temple itself took more than three centuries to complete.

All of the temple's measurements were multiples of the Athenian foot of 29.6 centimeters, or 11 3/5 inches, expanded into a 6-foot module that governed all its major components. For defensive purposes, no street runs right across town from gate to gate, creating an open space around the inside of the city wall for rapid troop deployment. The agora, traversed by the main east-west street, was the heart of the city. This street was 24 feet wide; the one below it was 7 feet narrower; and their companions were 3 1/2 feet narrower again: a diminishing ratio of 2:1. Ascending north-south streets, stepped as the slope increased, crossed them at right angles. Near the agora, these cross streets equaled the narrowest east-west ones in width, but they shrank by 1 3/4 feet toward the edge of town, creating a 4:2:1 differential in the city's overall street widths. Ancient Greek planners, obsessed by proportion and harmony and hopelessly optimistic about their power to "sway the soul," loved to play number games like this.

Each city block (Figure 12) measured 120 × 160 feet (a ratio of 3:4) and was divided into eight parcels of 30 × 80 feet, comparable to those of



12. City block and house at Priene, ca. 300. Each block, measuring 120 × 160 Attic ft., accommodated eight building plots, or parcels, each of 30 × 80 ft. (2,400 sq. ft.): a very democratic arrangement. The large and sturdy stone houses were spacious, cool in the summer, and draft resistant in the winter. Many featured an internal courtyard overlooked by a stately *pastas/prostas*, or vestibule, fronted by a short verandah. Richer interiors boasted pebble floor mosaics; frescoed faux-marble panels, moldings, and colonnades; and the occasional marble statuette.



13. The citadel at Pergamon, looking north toward the upper tiers of the theater and the terraces grouped around it. The terraces, which descend stepwise southward from the summit, supported the city's main royal and religious buildings. Rusticated walls of dark local stone anchor them firmly to the craggy hillside.

many American cities today. Most houses featured a central courtyard, often overlooked by a colonnaded stone porch, or *prostas/pastas*, which led to the main living room, or *oikos*. Some living rooms were decorated with simple pebble mosaics and wall frescoes imitating colored marble veneers, and one even boasted a false colonnade on the upper third of the wall, consisting of stuccoed half-columns surmounted by a cornice.

Beginning with the Athena temple, Priene embarked on an ambitious public building program, some of it certainly funded by rich benefactors (Alexander the Great included: Figure 9 and Chapter 4) and much of the rest probably so. Bronzes of these benefactors, voted and paid for by a grateful populace, soon began to line the city's main public spaces: the agora, sanctuaries, gymnasium, and theater.

Yet all of this took time: More than two centuries passed before the city achieved its full complement of public buildings. These included several other temples and lesser shrines; long, colonnaded porticoes (*stoas*) framing the agora; a council house (*bouleuterion*); a town hall (*prytaneion*); a theater; and the lower gymnasium, wrestling school, and adjoining stadium. Ironically, then, it was not until the coming of Rome that Priene possessed all the trappings of a self-respecting Hellenistic polis. Yet because each project was carefully coordinated both with the city grid and with its neighbors, their cumulative effect must have been quite harmonious and



14. Model of the citadel at Pergamon ca. AD 200. Every building is Hellenistic, except for (at left) the temple of the Roman Emperor Trajan (ruled AD 98–117) and the Roman temple of Dionysos below it. The terraces radiate stepwise from the theater. The uppermost terrace (off the picture to the left) held the arsenal and pre-Attalid fort; next, in descending order, are the Roman temple of Trajan, the Library, the temple of Athena Polias Nikephoros ("City Goddess; Bringer of Victory"), the Great Altar, and finally (at bottom right) the upper agora and temple of Hermes, god of commerce. Behind them stood (from left to right) a barracks, the palaces (five in all), and the shrine of the ruler cult. Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

impressive – unlike today's mostly patchwork and stylistically cacophonous urban developments.

Pergamon (Figures 13–15) in northwestern Anatolia was founded in the early third century around a preexisting fort atop a loaf-shaped mountain that rises 1,000 feet above the plain of the Kaikos River. This massif was steep enough to demand a quite different, contour-related approach. Although such layouts were by no means new, the city's monumentality was unusual, owing to its selection as a dynastic, and then royal, capital.

Lysimachos, one of Alexander's generals and successors, had chosen the fort in 302 to house one of his treasuries, entrusting it to a certain Philetairos, son of Attalos. In 282, riding a wave of popular discontent at his overlord's excesses, Philetairos defected to Seleukos. The next year, Seleukos killed Lysimachos in battle and invaded Macedonia, but on the brink of reuniting the empire, fell to an assassin's dagger. Thereafter, Attalid fortunes rose by leaps and bounds. Around 237, Attalos I defeated the invading Celts at the headwaters of the Kaikos (a victory that he and his successors never let the Hellenistic world forget: see Chapter 3 and Figures 41–44) and proclaimed himself King and Savior (*Sōtēr*). Shrewdly allying themselves with the rising power of Rome, he and his successor, Eumenes II (reigned 197–158), profited handsomely from the Roman victories over Philip V of Macedon



15. Propylon of King Eumenes II, from the citadel at Pergamon. This monumental marble gatehouse, built by Eumenes after he and the Romans defeated Antiochos III of Syria in 188 and expelled him from Anatolia, led to the sanctuary of Athena Polias Nikephoros (then called simply Athena Nikephoros). Doric below and Ionic above, proportioned in a 3:2 ratio, it bears his dedication to Athena and a parapet carved with captured arms and armor. Above, owls and libation dishes (*phialai*) surmount a frieze of floral garlands carried alternately by eagles and the skulls of sacrificed bulls. It thus honors both Zeus and Athena, as did (perhaps) the temple, which had two back-to-back cult rooms, or *cellas*. Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

in 197 and Antiochos III of Syria in 188, and thereafter controlled much of western Anatolia.

Predictably, then, the city of Pergamon was a top-down affair, built by and for its rulers. The first-century geographer Strabo makes this quite clear. After noting the citadel's conical shape, the pre-Attalid fort on its summit, and its densely packed settlement, and introducing the first three Attalids, he remarks of Eumenes II:

> He built up the city and planted the Nikephorion[3] with a grove, and from love of splendor added sacred buildings, votive offerings, and libraries, and elevated the city of Pergamon to its present state.

3 The sanctuary of Victory, apparently situated outside the walls, on the plain of the Kaikos. It remains to be discovered.



16. The Unswept Floor, Roman version of a second-century Pergamene mosaic by the local artist Sosos. Depicting garbage from a sumptuous feast (the mouse, unfortunately, is a modern addition), it probably decorated the floor of a banquet room, or *andrōn*, in one of the palaces. It framed a now-lost central picture, or *emblēma*, perhaps the doves drinking from a golden bowl by the same artist. Couches for the diners surrounded it. Suggesting that the scraps were theirs, it wittily presented them with a puzzle: What is real and what is not? L of segment ca. 6 1/2 ft. (2 m). Vatican Museums.

By then, the citadel boasted a spectacular system of terraces that stepped down from its summit, forming two great concentric arcs around the theater – one of the largest and steepest in the Greek world. Huge retaining walls of dark, rusticated local stone anchored these massive terraces firmly to the craggy hillside (Figure 13).

On the terraces next to the theater stood (in descending order) the old fort and the arsenal (joined in Roman times by a temple to the Emperor Trajan and its enclosing, ∏-shaped stoa), library, sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros ("Victory-Bringer"), Great Altar, and upper agora with its temple to Hermes, god of commerce. Most of them were framed by fine marble stoas (Figure 14). On the outer ring of terraces stood no fewer than five palaces (vanity projects by each successive ruler), a shrine for the ruler cult, and assorted public buildings. Soon the sanctuaries were crowded with votive offerings, ranging from victory monuments (see Figures 40–42), to great piles of captured arms and armor (echoed on the parapet of Figure 15), to portraits of the kings (see Figures 33–34), courtiers, generals, and other benefactors. The temples, altars, and stoas were liberally embellished with paintings, marble reliefs (Figure 15), and statues, and the palaces with frescoes and exquisite mosaics, including two famous ones by the local artist Sosos, of doves drinking from a golden bowl and a floor littered with garbage from a banquet (Figure 16).

Below all of this, the city proper spread down the lower slopes of the hill, punctuated by a sanctuary to Demeter, a huge gymnasium, and a lower agora, and enclosed by massive defensive walls. Only in the Roman period did it acquire a proper grid plan, when it expanded onto the plain below.

PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

Alexandria-by-Egypt (Figure 17), founded in 331, was the first and greatest of several dozen cities that the conqueror, never a shrinking violet, founded

in his own name across the empire. Situated on a narrow, east-west peninsula between the Mediterranean and Lake Mareotis, and fed by the westernmost branch of the Nile, it was designed by Alexander's court architect, Deinokrates, and soon became proverbial for its opulence, or *tryphe*. To quote Diodoros, who visited it in the late first century,

> Alexandria is conveniently situated near Pharos harbor, and by selecting the correct orientation for its streets, Alexander made it breathe with the Etesian Winds [Figure 1], so they cool the town's air, providing the inhabitants with a moderate climate and good health.... Many regard it as the first city of the civilized world, and it is certainly far ahead of all the rest in elegance, extent, resources, and opulence.

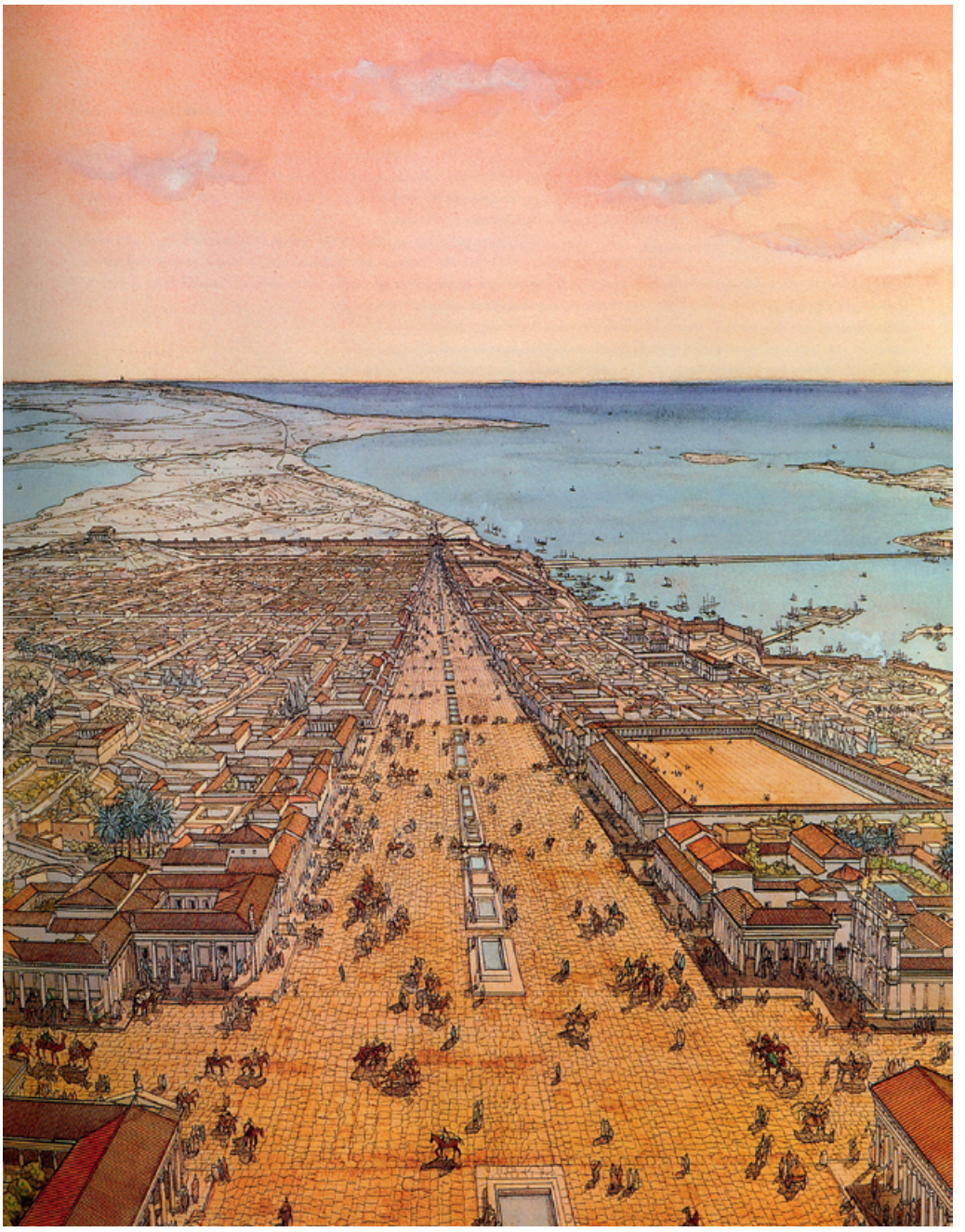
Basically rectangular, the heavily fortified city occupied about 5 square miles and used a spacious 330 meter/1,000 feet master grid apparently based on the Egyptian royal cubit of 52.5 centimeters, or 20 2/3 inches, with individual blocks measuring 600 × 500 cubits (1,033 × 861 feet). The royal palaces and gardens adjoined it to the northeast; the two harbors and their mighty lighthouse, or *Pharos* (a towering 440 feet high, dwarfing all other Greek buildings) to the northwest; and the colonnaded sanctuary of the newly created city god Sarapis (see Chapter 7 and Figures 97–98) to the southwest. A sophisticated underground pipe and cistern system provided fresh water.

The main east-west street – the majestic, 100-foot-wide Canopic Way – traversed the city from gate to gate, and a similar north-south one crossed it somewhat east of the center, leading north to the palaces. The six central blocks, bisected by the Canopic Way, embraced the agora, emporion, and probably the law courts, gymnasium, Mouseion,[4] and library; a theater and stadium completed the amenities. Cemeteries crowded the areas outside the walls (see Chapter 11), but the locations of Alexander's tomb and the adjacent mausoleum of the Ptolemies remain uncertain.

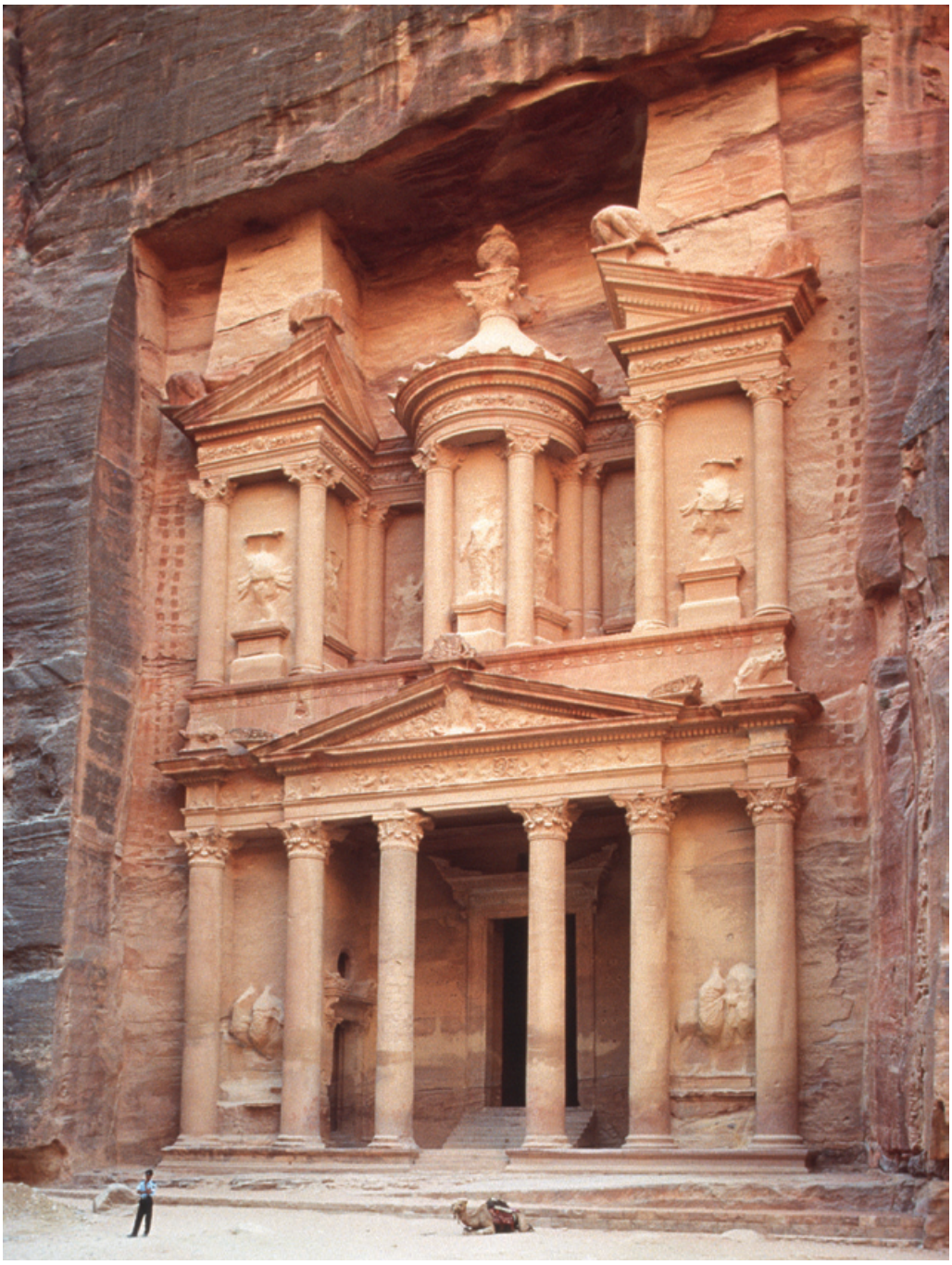
Nothing of this vast metropolis (Figure 17), by far the largest, grandest, and richest city of the Hellenistic world, remains standing. Centuries of looting and the construction of the modern town after 1800 have destroyed it entirely. Yet ongoing rescue excavations, a mass of architectural fragments in the local museum, many rock-cut tombs, and the indirect evidence of other such tombs at Petra in neighboring Jordan (Figure 18) demonstrate the existence of recognizably baroque architecture there by the second century (see Box 1, p. 17: "Classicism and the Baroque"). Roman first-century frescoes of architectural complexes, using the same vocabulary and syntax, confirm this from afar.

The Alexandrian baroque's architectural novelties include acanthus column-bases, Corinthian capitals with S-shaped spirals, modillion cornices, and especially curved, arched, and broken entablatures and pediments. These new-style bases, capitals, and cornices create an overall sense of exuberance;

4 The "House of the Muses" – the world's first scholarly research institute.



17. Reconstruction of Alexandria, looking west from the crossing of the two main streets, down the 100 ft. wide Canopic Way, to the city's western gate and the cemeteries beyond it. The sanctuary and temple of Sarapis adjoin the city wall at upper left; Lake Mareotis lies beyond. Opposite, at right, are the western (commercial) harbor; the Heptastadion, or seven-furlong (4,200 ft./1,280 m) causeway, leading to Pharos Island and the great lighthouse (off the picture to the right); and part of the eastern (naval) harbor.



18. The Khazneh ("Treasury") at Petra (Jordan). A breathtaking 127 ft. (almost 40 m) high, this spectacular Corinthian temple-tomb was carved out of a sandstone cliff probably for the Nabatean King Aretas IV Philopatris (reigned 9 BC–AD 40). Alexandrian in style, it showcases the achievements of the city's baroque architecture. Note the boldly broken entablatures and pediments, and the two setbacks that frame the central rotunda, or *tholos*.

the broken entablatures and pediments both punctuate the façades with unexpected curves, setbacks, and voids and – in cases such as the royal tomb at Petra called the "Khazneh" (Figure 18) – focus attention on the conical-roofed rotunda, or *tholos*, at center. Together, these innovations turn the static, two-dimensional classical façades and their Hellenistic successors (Figures 14–15) into exciting, three-dimensionally dynamic ones. The broken entablatures and pediments announce the thrusting climax of the central *tholos*, while the push-pull effect of the curves, setbacks, and voids both breaches our own space and opens enticing portals to the interior.

As for embellishment, excavations have revealed mosaic floors (at first of pebbles, and then increasingly of cut stones, or *tesserae*: see Focus II and Figure 119), illusionistic frescoes, and much sculpture. The sculptures are usually classicizing or Egyptianizing in style, whereas at Pergamon a liking for baroque sculpture was countered by a generally classicizing architecture. Curiously, then, each center apparently disdained the other's innovations in each medium.

Alexandria's official name, Alexandria-by-Egypt, is revealing. Situated on a peninsula and sundered from the mainland by Lake Mareotis, it was in essence an offshore Greco-Macedonian colony, or *apoikia* – like, in a later era, British Hong Kong and Singapore. As for the Egyptian hinterland, or *chōra*, the Ptolemies honored the native gods and built or rebuilt several native-style temples in the Nile Valley, and also took care to garrison it, founding grid-planned military bases there. Greek merchants and settlers soon followed the troops, but the native population always hugely outnumbered them. These locals lived, as they always had done, in dwellings ranging from rude wattle huts to large, flat-roofed houses of mud brick. When these dwellings were multistoried (see Figures 136–37), often they sheltered several families. They bore no resemblance to Greco-Macedonian houses (Figures 6, 12) but were perfectly suited both to the local climate and to the resources available. We shall revisit them in Chapter 10.

THE SELEUKID EMPIRE

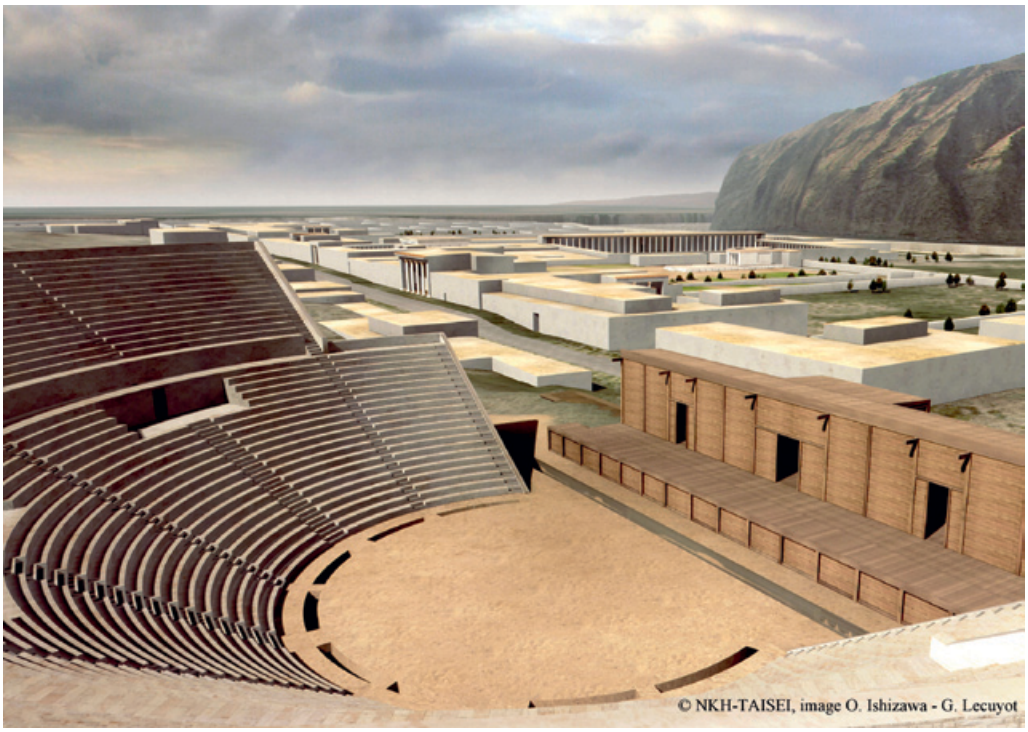
Hellenistic *Antioch*, the Seleukid capital, has fared even worse than Alexandria. Tragically vulnerable to flood and earthquake, it has been entirely obliterated by massive silting from the Orontes River and landslides from nearby Mount Silpius. Its grid plan, however, survived all of this and still – just – structures the modern Turkish town on top of it. (Until 1938–39, when Turkey annexed it, Antioch belonged to Syria.) Ancient writers paint a vivid picture of a city lavishly furnished with shrines, public buildings, and fine mansions, and single out one new feature: a two-mile long, colonnaded street that bisected the city from north to south. Such colonnades, unifying the urban fabric and affording protection from sun and rain alike, became standard in the cities of the Roman East.



19. Reconstruction of Babylon, looking south. The Euphrates River, crossed by a stone bridge, bisects the city, a rectangle of about 1 × 2 mi. At center are the ziggurat (the Tower of Babel) and the temple of Bel-Marduk. Rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar II (604–561), the ziggurat and temple were restored in the third century by the Seleukids. In the foreground are the northern and southern palaces. At lower left is Nebuchadnezzar's famous Ishtar Gate, now reconstructed in Berlin. Chosen in 331 by Alexander for his imperial capital, the city declined after 200 and was conquered by the Parthians in 141 along with the rest of Mesopotamia; ancient accounts of its total desolation by then are exaggerated.

Supplementing Alexander's numerous city foundations, Seleukos founded Antioch (named after his son Antiochos) and its three satellite towns, Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Laodikeia, and Apameia (the last two named after his wives), after he defeated King Antigonos One-Eye in 301 and acquired Syria and most of Anatolia. Together they constituted the core of the Seleukid Empire, the so-called Syrian Tetrapolis. Sadly, Apameia was never excavated, has been thoroughly looted in the chaos of the Syrian civil war, and probably is lost to archaeology forever.

The Seleukids founded many more cities under their own names, located at strategic points across their vast empire. The most important among them was Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris. Founded around 305 and populated by Greeks, Syrians, and Jews, it swiftly became an important center of trade, culture, and regional government, easily surpassing *Babylon* (Figure 19), Alexander's capital, which eventually fell into decline as a result. Alexander had found the latter's ziggurat (the legendary Tower of Babel) and other temples to Marduk much dilapidated, but died before he could rebuild them. The Seleukids piously did so, honoring the traditional religion across their vast empire just



20. Reconstruction of Ai Khanoum ca. 150, looking west from the theater. The main north-south street crosses the picture diagonally from lower right to upper left. At right are the *propylon* (gatehouse), temple court, and Niche Temple (see Figure 21; hidden behind the propylon), as well as the mausoleum of the city's founder, Kineas (note its Greek columnar façade). Beyond them is the palace with its great colonnaded courtyard. The Oxus River flows from right to left past the mountain at right, and its tributary the Kokcha joins it from the left near the cliff just beyond the palace.

like the Ptolemies did, but otherwise donated only a theater and perhaps a gymnasium to it.

Sited at the confluence of the Tigris River and a major canal from the Euphrates, Seleukeia was well placed to service traffic from both great waterways. During the third and second centuries, it became the gateway to the Seleukid East, equaling Alexandria in size and surpassing Antioch. Its walls enclosed an area of at least 1,400 acres (550 hectares), and its population probably numbered more than 100,000 initially; its environs might have supported up to 500,000 people. Excavation has not, however, fulfilled this promise, revealing a typically Near Eastern, grid-planned city of mud brick, with disappointingly little surviving from the Seleukid era.

Fortunately, the Seleukid Far East offers more – or at least it did so until recent wars and rampant looting again took their toll.

Ai Khanoum (Figures 20–21; its ancient name is unknown) is one of the few Seleukid cities both untouched by later building and comprehensively excavated. Discovered by chance in the early 1960s and dug by a French team



21. The Niche Temple at Ai Khanoum, ca. 300–145. Built of mud brick on a stepped podium and Iranian in style, the temple stood in a 200 ft. (61 m) square precinct and was itself slightly more than 70 ft. (21.5 m) square. Greek-style dentil cornices in baked brick capped its podium and walls. Inside, a broad anteroom led to a cult room, or *cella*, 20 ft. (6 m) across and 16 ft. (5 m) deep; it was flanked by two smaller rooms, presumably for cult items and treasures. Its colossal cult statue, probably of Zeus-Mithras, was acrolithic (a marble hand and Greek-style sandaled foot carved with a winged thunderbolt survive); the niche behind it bore a painting on cloth glued to gilded wood. Finds included a clay portrait head; a limestone statuette of a draped woman; a bronze statuette of Herakles; a gilded silver plate embossed with a chariot-borne Kybele and an altar; ivory furniture inlays; and bronze vessels.

through the 1970s,[5] it fell victim first to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1980, which abruptly halted all archaeological work, and then to the Taliban. Now thoroughly looted, its cratered moonscape is a hopelessly depressing but increasingly all-too-familiar sight. The excavation's publication is ongoing.

Situated in northern Afghanistan (ancient Baktria), the site is a natural fortress: a narrow plain about 500 yards wide and a mile long, bounded on two sides by the junction of the Oxus and Kokcha rivers and on the third by a mesa-like akropolis about 200 feet high. On the fourth side, a massive mud-brick city wall studded with huge towers completed its defenses.

Ai Khanoum's history is that of the Hellenistic East in microcosm. Founded around 300, presumably by Seleukos, to control access to Baktria

5 Although noted by early travelers, it was not recognized as a Hellenistic city until the early 1960s, when local villagers showed the king of Afghanistan a carving from the area during a hunting expedition, and he invited the French Mission in Kabul to investigate.

from the northeast, around 250 it fell to a local governor, Diodotos I, soon after his successful revolt against the Seleukids. After repelling a vigorous Seleukid counteroffensive in 206, this new, dynamic Greco-Baktrian kingdom expanded southeast across the mountains of the Hindu Kush via the Khyber Pass into the Indus Valley and beyond, reconquering huge swathes of land that had been lost after Alexander's death – essentially most of modern Pakistan.

Yet by 150, a combination of internal discord and relentless external assault had all but crippled the new kingdom. Around 145, nomads from the Central Asian steppes poured across the Oxus, sacked Ai Khanoum, and overran Baktria. Cut off from the west, the Indo-Greek kingdoms of Pakistan and adjacent northwestern India lasted another century, only to succumb to native pressure at about the same time that Ptolemaic Egypt fell to the Romans, around 30.

As usual, cemeteries lined the city's approaches, and a wide central avenue spanned the city's long axis from the main northern gate, flanked by a theater, an arsenal, and spacious town houses. A cross street guarded by a gatehouse led to a huge gymnasium; two mausoleums (one dedicated to a certain Kineas, the city's real founder and presumably Seleukos's ambassador); a temple (Figure 21) that yielded a colossal marble foot shod in a Greek-style sandal decorated with a winged thunderbolt, and so presumably belonged to a cult statue of Zeus, or perhaps Zeus-Mithras; and a huge palace.

All of these buildings were planned and constructed in Iranian/Persian style except for the theater, and even this incorporates special boxes for the elite – which would have been unthinkable in the staunchly egalitarian Greek cities to the west.

The temple (Figure 21) is an Iranian niched, broad-room building on a high, stepped podium; the palace echoes the former Persian royal palace at Susa (which does *not* mean that its occupant was Iranian, as will appear); and the town houses are not built around a courtyard, as in Greece, but are now fronted by one that gives onto a large reception hall which is surrounded by a service corridor and other rooms. All are flat-roofed and built of mud brick, sometimes on fired brick foundations, but their embellishments – limestone Corinthian colonnades, terracotta palmette antefixes on the cornices, pebble mosaics, and bronze, limestone, and clay sculptures – were purely Greek. An Iranian-style fire altar to Ahura Mazda crowned the town's akropolis.

Inscriptions and graffiti show that, as in other cities of the empire where evidence survives, Ai Khanoum's chief administrators were Greek, supervising a secretariat of locals, in this case Iranians. The proportion of Greeks among the general population is unknown but surely was small. The gymnasium was dedicated to Herakles and Hermes; Kybele and Hestia were honored alongside Zeus; and, amazingly, inscriptions from Kineas's mausoleum relate that a certain Klearchos (perhaps Aristotle's pupil of that name, an expert in Eastern philosophy and religion) had brought "wise sayings of illustrious men of old" thence from distant Delphi, "so that they may shine in this far-off place, the sacred precinct of Kineas" and guide its inhabitants. To accomplish this solemn task, Klearchos had traveled more than 3,500 miles.

So Ai Khanoum, a new city, was nevertheless a hybrid, and clearly no democracy. In the millennia-old cities of Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, Babylonia, and Persia, the grip of tradition was even stronger – as at Babylon (Figure 19).

The ancient Phoenician port of *Dor* in northern Israel, for example, preserves traces of a rough grid plan on its east side and in the center, and a contour-related one on the west, dating from the early fifth century through the Roman period. Simultaneously, imported Greek fine wares and other goods appear in quantity. Yet cooking pots and other domestic utensils remain essentially unchanged, showing that the women of these houses, at least, were locals. Until the late second century (see Figure 131), the only credible signs of possible Greek *occupation* are a new city wall and artillery towers of massive cut sandstone blocks, which was built around 270 and withstood at least two major sieges, and a shift from local pier-and-rubble house walls to Greek header-stretcher ones.

2

POWER

ALEXANDER AND POWER

The ancient Greeks had two words for power: *dynamis*, or "power to," and *archē*, or "power over" – or, as we would say, *agency* and *authority*. Although Alexander achieved unprecedented *archē* over millions, in the popular imagination he was *dynamis* personified, and remained so until the end of antiquity and beyond. Likewise – although at a lower level – so did many of his successors.

Yet despite glowing later reports of his Hollywood-like good looks, in fact they left much to be desired. His neck was slightly crooked; his eyes were "melting" (like the Knidian Aphrodite's: see Figure 104); his skin was fair – also like a woman's; and his chest was flushed. His height was average (about 5 1/2 feet); he would not or could not grow a beard; he wore his hair longish and styled in a kind of a cowlick; he had a harsh voice; and soon he was scarred by many wounds. Altogether, we are told, he looked "somewhat scary." An uncanny blend of male and female, adult and adolescent, and aggression and allure, this boyish androgyne and his electrifying charisma galvanized his Macedonians to conquer the world.

Alexander's three favorite artists – the bronze caster Lysippos of Sikyon, the painter Apelles of Kos, and the gem cutter Pyrgoteles – revolutionized the art of Greek portraiture. Deftly idealizing the king, they turned his crooked neck into a badge of heroic defiance, his smooth chin into the invigorating freshness of youth, his melting gaze into a longing, or *pothos*, for conquests new, and his cowlick into the *anastolē* of the ravaging lion, the king of beasts.[1]

1 A wild, unruly, or flame-like *anastolē*, on the other hand, characterizes powerful and dynamic forces of nature and similar beings, such as the gods Poseidon and Pan, Titans,

Blending these signs of kingly *dynamis* with imagery of the heroes (Lysippos) or the gods (Apelles), they produced a compelling new vision of charismatic leadership, dynamism, and towering personal achievement (Figures 3, 4) that still resonates today. In their hands, Alexander came to personify both universal agency and universal power.

Moreover, in addition to immortalizing Alexander in every major artistic medium, they and others soon exploited five basic scenarios to promote his successes: battles (Figure 3), hunts, processions, marriages, and what one might call pageants, parading him with gods and personifications in order to make political and moral points (compare Figure 1). Finally, even before his death, they all but turned him into a god. In short, for better or for worse, they invented the Western iconography of power, and Alexander personified it.

Pyrgoteles' gems are all lost and no description of them survives, although later Hellenistic and Roman ventures in this medium suggest little difference from the coins (see Figure 26) – a related art form that used the same carving, or *glyptic*, technique. Fortunately, Lysippos and Apelles have fared slightly better.

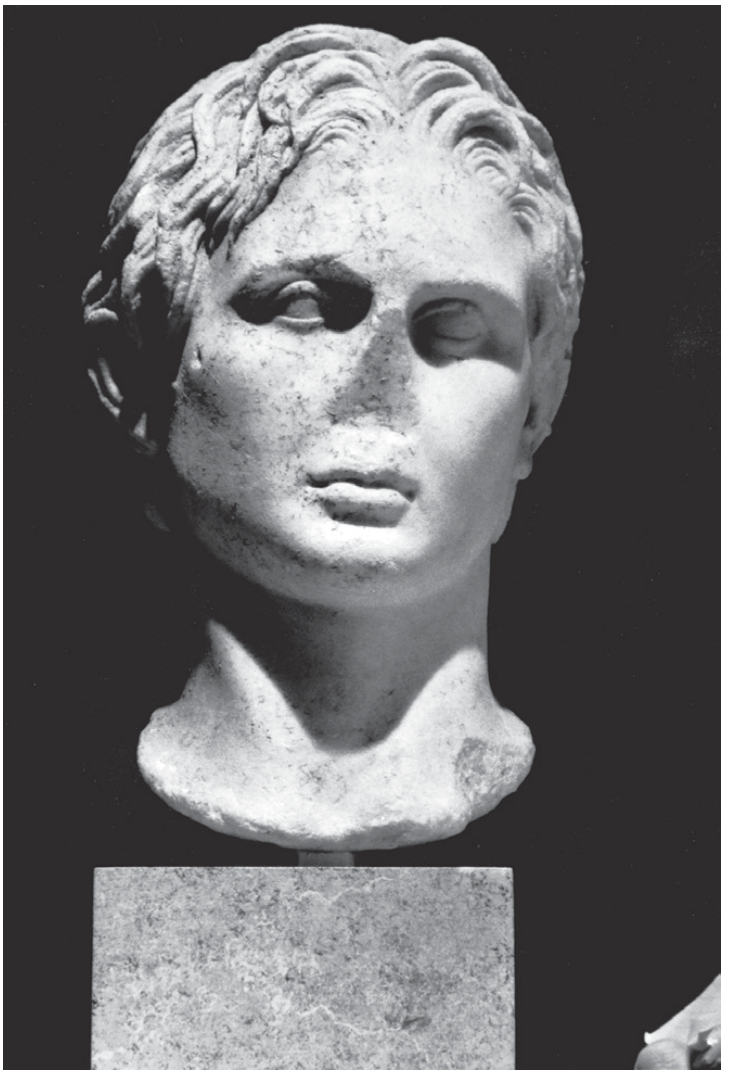
Lysippos's bronzes have suffered the same fate as Pyrgoteles' gems, and their original contexts are mostly unknown, although the king's many Alexandrias certainly would have boasted statues of him as their heroic founder. We can reconstruct his strategy, however, from Pliny's discussion of his style; from descriptions and reproductions of his Kairos or "Opportunity" (see Figure 161), called "The Only Creator of Beauty" and renowned for its grace, suppleness, mobility, and dynamism; from Plutarch's use of his Alexander portraits to enrich his biographical and rhetorical writings; and finally from a Roman marble herm from Tivoli,[2] near Rome, inscribed "Alexander, son of Philip, Macedonian" that more or less matches these authors' remarks and furnishes a key link with other uninscribed and otherwise anonymous pieces.

By using plaster casts molded from life by his brother Lysistratos and including much realistic detail, Lysippos subtly idealized his sitters in order to make them seem taller, more graceful, more dynamic, and more imposing. A master at capturing both appearance and character, he turned fleeting Opportunity (see Figure 161) into burnished bronze and was in heavy demand as a portraitist, particularly by the greatest and most calculating opportunist of them all: Alexander.

The Tivoli herm, however, was heavily restored in the eighteenth century, so another, better preserved example (Figure 22) may serve to illustrate

Giants, satyrs, Gauls, and Horus-Triptolemos on the Tazza Farnese (see Figures 1, 41–45, 58, 93, 94, 99, 112–13).

2 A herm is a head mounted on a stone pillar often embellished with an erect phallus and two stumpy, rectangular "arms." Originally an image of the god Hermes invented to mark boundaries, by our period it could carry the heads of gods, heroes, or even living mortals.



22. "Schwarzenberg" Alexander, Roman marble head from Tivoli (near Rome). One of several replicas of its type, it was made probably for insertion into an inscribed pillar, or *herm*. The bronze original of ca. 330, attributed to Lysippos, would have been full-length and either naked, like the "Nelidow" Alexander (Figure 4), or armored. The king turns to gaze at far horizons, seeking conquests new. His forehead is "clouded" with a slight bulge over the bridge of the nose and eyebrows, and his long, wavy hair springs up in a cowlick, or *anastolē*. Borrowed from the king of beasts, these traits mark him as a latter-day lion-man: kingly, heroic, dynamic, fearless, and invincible. H 14 1/2 in. (48 cm). Munich, Glyptothek.

this happy conjunction of texts and images. Compare some comments of Plutarch's:

> When Lysippos finished his first Alexander looking up with his face turned toward the sky (just as he was accustomed to look,

turning his head slightly to one side), someone not inappropriately inscribed the following epigram:

> This statue seems to look at Father Zeus and say:
> "You keep Olympos! Me let Earth obey!"

So Alexander ordered that only Lysippos should make his portrait.[3] For he alone, it seemed, brought out his real character in the bronze and caught his essential excellence (*aretē*). The others, in their eagerness to represent his crooked neck and melting, limpid eyes, were unable to preserve his virile and leonine demeanor.

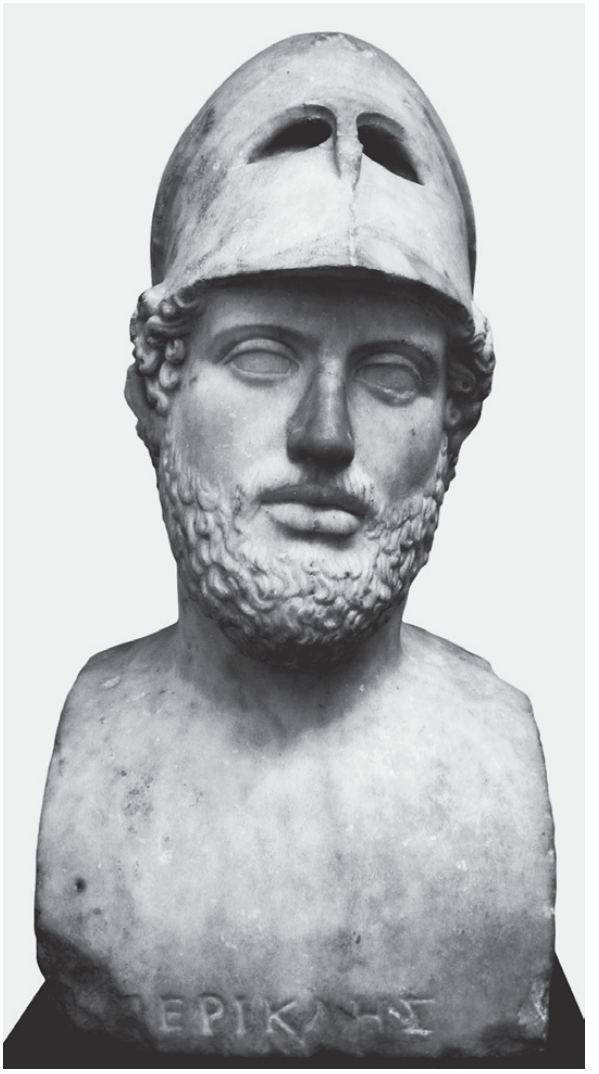
Judging by this marble head's small, bowl-shaped insertion bust, it probably also came from a herm, with a shaft presumably of a different – likely colored – marble. To envision the vanished body of the original Lysippic bronze, we must turn to the numerous bronze Alexander statuettes (identifiable by their youthful features, lion-like, or *leonine*, hair, and telltale *anastolē*) whose slim torsos, small heads, and vigorous, supple movement look persuasively Lysippic (see Figure 4). Probably made for domestic shrines (private versions of official Hellenistic ruler cults), they show the king striding imperiously forward, holding his trademark spear (now lost), and gazing out to far horizons. The world, these swagger portraits proclaim, is his oyster. A new Achilles fighting a new Trojan war to the very ends of the earth, the youthful Alexander single-handedly inaugurates a new heroic age, brusquely consigning the parochial world of the Greek city-states and their stolid, middle-aged statesmen (Figure 23) to history.

Not content with mere pedestrian glory, however, Alexander also engaged Lysippos to portray him riding his favorite horse, Boukephalas, both alone and leading the opening cavalry charge at his first great battle, on the Granikos River in 334 – a fiction, because this opening charge was a suicide mission, and Alexander actually led a second, victorious one. A fine Roman statuette from Herculaneum may reproduce one of these monuments. It shows Alexander in full armor, mercilessly slashing down at an unseen Persian foe. It is unclear whether the Granikos monument, dedicated at the Macedonian national sanctuary of Zeus at Dion on the slopes of Mount Olympos, included these foes or not, but other sculptures and paintings of the king in battle certainly did.

Apelles blazed a different trail. His most famous Alexanders were the Thunderbolt-Bearer in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, for which he received the enormous sum of twenty gold talents,[4] and a pageant-like pair

3 A fiction: Since numerous late fourth-century artists are known to have made Alexander's portrait, it is clear that he issued no such edict. Invented during the Hellenistic period, it reflects a typical desire of absolute rulers to control their image at all costs.

4 If this can be trusted, Apelles' painting netted him more than *one-half-ton* of gold, equivalent to five tons of silver at the 1:10 gold-silver ratio that was current at the time.



23. Perikles (ca. 495–429), inscribed Roman herm from Tivoli (near Rome). Showing the great Athenian statesman as a successful general, this is one of several copies of a bronze, full-length portrait, probably by Kresilas, dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis ca. 425. Its carefully styled beard and hair, understated modeling, regular features, slightly averted gaze, sober expression, and gentle movement radiate good breeding and self-control. It casts Perikles as *the* model citizen and father figure: mature, handsome, dignified, wise, prudent, patriotic, and brave. Contrast the young, dynamic, charismatic Alexander (Figure 22), ever striving to make the world anew. H 21 1/4 in. (54 cm). London, British Museum.

in Alexandria that showed the king driving chariots, accompanied in one picture by Nike and the divine twins Castor and Pollux, and in the other by Triumph and the bound figures of War and Fury.

Alexander commissioned the Thunderbolt-Bearer presumably to celebrate his conquest of Persia, for Artemis Ephesia was the great goddess



24. Alexander Thunderbolt-Bearer, engraved Hellenistic red cornelian gemstone, signed by Neisos. The stone was first heated to intensify its color; then polished; then engraved with a fine drill, tiny chisels, and a mixture of olive oil and powdered corundum (the hardest mineral after diamond) as a cutting agent. These negative *intaglio* images were left/right reversed for stamping onto clay, wax, or (in the case of coin dies) metal. Alexander, naked but for his royal diadem and Zeus's *aegis* over his right (proper left) arm, holds his reversed sword and the top of his shield in this hand, and he contemplates a thunderbolt held in the other. Zeus's eagle gazes up at him. The gem references the colossal painting of Alexander Thunderbolt-Bearer by Apelles that the king dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos ca. 330 to celebrate his conquest of Asia. The son of Zeus-Amun, he is a Zeus on earth, possessed by a divine spark. H 1 1/5 in. (3 cm). St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum.

of Asia (worshiped there in many guises) in Greek translation. The picture was colossal, and no secure echo of it survives. Prime candidates include a fine little gem signed by one Neisos (Figure 24) and a set of silver dekadrachms minted in far-off Afghanistan (ancient Baktria) before Alexander's death.

Although the gem shows him naked and the coins depict him wearing armor, in both cases he carries the thunderbolt, which in the original painting seemed to flash like fire. To get this effect, Apelles used a new pictorial trick he had invented, namely, luster (i.e., reflected light; glitter, sparkle, sheen). Here too the challenge of representing Alexander's unique place in history



25. Egyptian sandstone relief from the Shrine of the Bark in the Luxor Temple, ca. 325: (left) Alexander stands before Amun-Ra Khamutef, and (right) Monthu introduces Alexander to Amun. Alexander had restored the temple, which was dedicated to the royal *ka*, or "spirit," and its grateful priests commissioned a series of these reliefs for its inner sanctum, which housed Amun's sacred boat. Derived from Horus and Osiris and regenerated in each legitimate pharaoh by the ithyphallic Min/Amun-Ra Khamutef, the royal *ka* was the spirit of Egyptian kingship. Rigorously canonical and presenting Alexander as heir to the most authoritative royal traditions of Pharaonic Egypt, these reliefs inaugurated a long tradition of Ptolemaic and Roman Egyptianizing ruler portraits. H 4 ft., 7 1/8 in. (1.4 m). Luxor, in situ.

apparently stimulated both technical *and* iconographic innovation, blending the royal image with that of the very gods themselves, whose power of agency he approached and, in some respects, even equaled. (Lysippos, heartily disliking all of this and preferring his own heroic-style Alexanders, grumbled that *his* portraits featured the king's true and proper attribute, the spear, which Time – i.e., death – could never steal from him.)

Either Alexander or his successor, Ptolemy I, commissioned Apelles' two pictures in Alexandria. Both were equally innovative. The first partnered the king with the goddess of victory and two deified mortals (an obvious comparison), and the second – bridging ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian victory imagery and its Roman successors – showed him with three personifications, two of which were trussed-up captives. As mentioned in the Introduction, a long tradition of such pageant-like images followed (Figure 1). Predictably, when Octavian took Alexandria 300 years later and extinguished the Ptolemaic

dynasty, he promptly shipped these two pictures back to Rome to grace his new temple of Mars the Avenger.

This small selection does scant justice to the vast range of attested Alexander portraits. For example, not only do we hear of "native" images of him in far-off India, but we also possess an array of them in Egyptian style, commissioned by the priests of Amun for the shrine of the god's sacred boat at Luxor (Figure 25). A traditional Egyptian means of both conciliating foreign conquerors and reestablishing the cosmic order (*ma'at*) that they had disrupted, they had many successors, as first the Ptolemies and then the Caesars inherited Alexander's stewardship of the Land of the Nile.

INTERLUDE: INDIVIDUALITY, PERSONHOOD, AND THE "ROLE PORTRAIT"

The foregoing paragraphs have touched on a number of key issues in ancient Greek portraiture. Before moving on, we must briefly confront them.

Anthropologists, sociologists, and philosophers, when faced with the problem of individuality, often prefer to talk about *personhood*. This is the notion that humans differ from other animals and from machines in the kinds of relations to the self, to others, and to the world that they have or are capable of having. Each individual is unique, but personhood is socially constructed. It depends on the relationships one builds and the society in which one lives, and thus it varies from society to society and from age to age. In the Hellenistic world, two key components of this construction were *aretē* and the pseudo-science of physiognomics.

First, *aretē*: As we have seen, Plutarch explicitly contrasts Lysippos with those portraitists who merely strove for a realistic likeness. A combination of his brother Lysistratos's life casts, his own mastery of realistic detail, and his talent for subtly idealizing his sitters did the trick. Thus, without losing Alexander's likeness, he managed to catch the king's essential *aretē* and deftly preserved his "virile and leonine demeanor." So what was this crucial, rare, and elusive thing called *aretē*, and how could one represent it?

In Homer, and in early Greek thought in general, *aretē* (often qualified as "peerless") stands at the summit of human qualities. Although first and foremost it signaled prowess in war, like our word "excellence" its frame of reference was far broader. Anyone who achieves success thanks to his own abilities and the favor of the gods possesses *aretē* and deserves the respect that goes with it. Being innate, it cannot be taught (although some intellectuals tried to prove otherwise), only discovered within oneself, and "the path that leads to it is long and steep, and rough at first." It demands one's complete dedication to the quest and complete rejection of everything ignoble – the first hint of its ethical dimension in the sense of "goodness" and, later, of moral virtue.

So while *aretē* implies bravery, goodness, and/or moral virtue, and by our period had come to embrace the so-called quieter virtues of justice, self-

knowledge, self-restraint, and so on, in popular thought it often remained largely a matter of effectiveness. Men (and women) of *aretē* were above all extraordinarily effective. They had succeeded in using all their faculties – in mobilizing all their potential – to achieve concrete, lasting results. Or to put it another way, they were people of exceptional *agency*. And in our period easily the most conspicuous of them were those icons of political and military power that at times resembled gods on earth: Alexander and the kings.

Yet even so, in traditional societies the pressures for conformity and against personal autonomy are great. Often these pressures are reinforced (as in Greece) by a tendency to sort people – even the most outstanding ones – into types, each supposedly distinguished by a set of more or less homogeneous character traits. Hellenistic New Comedy, for example, deals solely with such stereotypes: the slave, the adulterer, the libertine, the courtesan, the grouch, and so on. Aristotle analyzed some of them in his *Ethics*, and his successor Theophrastos compiled a whole dossier of them.

Moreover, like many Greeks, both of these philosophers subscribed to the popular pseudo-science of physiognomics, which sought parallels for human physical characteristics in the animal world and tried to read character from them. (Thus, as we have seen, Alexander's face, hairdo, deportment, and character were considered to be lion-like, or leonine.) This tendency to stereotype people, to view them more as role players than as unique personalities, continued throughout antiquity and still exists today.

Greek portraitists, serving a populace that took all of this for granted, and charged with celebrating people of exemplary *aretē*, followed suit. Practicing an art that was public, admiring, and didactic, they devised what has aptly been called the "role portrait": "the portrait which emphasizes the public aspect of an individual, his fulfillment of an important role in his society." Propagandists of *aretē*, they idealized their sitters to a greater or lesser extent, often using glamorizing physiognomic traits such as the *anastolē* as visual cues. (As Theophrastos drily quipped a few years after Alexander's death, "Only a flatterer tells you that you look like your portrait.")

This is why, in the papyrus illustrated in Figure 10, Theophrastos's contemporary Poseidippos recognized three basic portrait modes, depending on one's status and achievements: namely, realistic (his own "straight canon of truth"), heroic (Lysippos), and godlike (Apelles). Appropriately selected and inflected to match the different roles that outstanding individuals could play in Greek society (king, general, politician, philosopher, poet, and so on), they will dominate the chapters that follow. In many cases, these classic studies set standards in the art of portraiture that have never been surpassed.

POSTHUMOUS ALEXANDERS

Lysippos's jibe about Apelles, Alexander, and the march of Time came true on June 10, 323, but for centuries thereafter, interest in the king's image



26. Silver tetradrachm of King Lysimachos of Thrace, ca. 305–281: Alexander (obverse) and Athena Nikephoros (reverse; not shown). The great conqueror, now deified, is a visionary striving for far horizons. His hair, barely constrained by his royal diadem, billows around his head, and huge ram's horns sprout from his skull. They evoke his divine supposed father, the Egyptian ram-god Amun, whose oracle at Siwah had promised him a universal empire. On the reverse, an enthroned Athena Nikephoros ("Victory-Bringer") extends a winged Nike toward Lysimachos's name, implying that he is a second Alexander. Diam. 1 1/4 in. (3.1 cm). London, British Museum.

remained strong. The prototypical young, heaven-blest, invincible conqueror, he not only helped legitimize the dynasties that succeeded him, but also provoked bolder spirits to try to equal or surpass him. Predictably, then, his posthumous portraits often inspired those of his successors and echoed or helped define the leadership styles of their times; and when placed on coins (especially high-denomination ones, minted to pay mercenaries or contractors), they forcefully reminded their recipients for whom they worked and why. And as his cults and his roles multiplied, his image fragmented accordingly.

In a rare show of deference to tradition, Alexander had refrained from stamping his own head on his coins, preferring to use that of his ancestor Herakles instead, but his successors suffered no such inhibitions. Lysimachos's Alexanders (Figure 26) are forces of nature, their windswept masses of hair barely constrained by the royal diadem (which Alexander

had adopted as his special emblem in 331 or 330) and sprouting the ram's horns of his "real" father, Zeus Amun. Amun's oracle at Siwah in the Egyptian desert had promised him world domination, and the god even appears to him repeatedly in person on the Luxor reliefs (Figure 25). This ovine appendage, bizarre though it may seem today, merely took the divine-human conflation of Apelles' Thunderbolt-Bearer to its logical conclusion.

Ptolemy's Alexanders, by contrast, soon become bland and almost depersonalized, as the now-deified monarch increasingly takes leave of terrestrial reality, and (on the coins, at least) his divine attributes multiply accordingly. In marble, this process translates into a classicizing image that both massively idealizes him and assimilates him to the bland, reassuring public face of the Ptolemaic dynasty in its golden years. Finally, some second-century Alexanders introduce a new element attested in inscribed decrees honoring contemporary politicians and investigated further in Chapter 6: their constant worry and toil (*ponos*) on behalf of their constituents at a time of increasing disruption and uncertainty.

THE SUCCESSORS

The faces of Alexander's successors are known mostly from Roman copies, many of them from a single source: the late republican Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. Identifiable as kings only by their diadems (now reduced to simple, flat circlets);[5] shaved chins (the youthful look had caught on); and resemblance to the successors' own portrait coins, they are numerous and varied. Some of these men were older than Alexander, had fought alongside him, and were quite grizzled when they achieved power, but others had barely known him, if at all.

Among the former, Ptolemy and Seleukos (Figure 27) display the craggy physiognomies of seasoned warriors and administrators, whereas the playboy Demetrios Poliorketes, or "The Besieger" (Figures 28–29), who was only fourteen years old when Alexander died, predictably favored smooth features that radiate youth, dynamism, and promise. Variously inflected, these two ruler types remained popular throughout the Hellenistic period.

Yet despite their vast ambitions, all of the successors conspicuously refrained from aping Alexander's flamboyantly leonine hairdo and extravagant *anastolē*, for he was unique, and everyone knew it. Henceforth, these

5 For the successors, donning the diadem symbolized that one not only had succeeded Alexander as king but also claimed the whole of his legacy. As a result, they waited to take this irrevocable step until his legitimate heirs were out of the way, and usually also until a great victory legitimized their claim. Thus, Antigonos and Demetrios were the first to adopt the diadem, but did so only after the last of Alexander's children was dead and they had destroyed Ptolemy's fleet off Cyprus in 306; Seleukos and Ptolemy soon followed suit after similar successes of their own; then Lysimachos and Cassander; and so on.



27. King Seleukos I Nikator of Syria (ca. 358–281), Roman bronze bust (originally set on a herm shaft) from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. Identified from his coin portraits, it copies a bronze original of ca. 300–280, perhaps the one by Bryaxis, who also made a cult statue of Apollo for Antioch, Seleukos's capital. Alexander's former general, who created the mighty Seleukid empire from scratch in a mere decade, bristles with metaphors of leonine force: muscular neck, massive jaw, firm-set mouth, lined cheeks, hooded eyes, "clouded" brow, and abundant hair (but less so than the inimitable Alexander's). One crosses him at one's peril. H 19 11/16 in. (50 cm). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.



28. Silver tetradrachm of King Demetrios Poliorketes ("The Besieger") of Macedon (337–283), ca. 290. Although nearing fifty, Demetrios shows little sign of aging. Poseidon's bull's horns sprout from his skull, and on the reverse, the god himself stands with one foot on a rock, flanked by the legend "Of King Demetrios." The king's formidable fleet commanded the eastern Mediterranean throughout his reign. When this coin was minted, perhaps to pay sailors or shipwrights, he was busy enlarging his fleet for an invasion of Anatolia. Diam. 1 1/8 in. (28 mm). New York, American Numismatic Society.

traits would characterize gods and heroes alone, especially those whose particular agency was universal, such as Zeus, Helios, Poseidon, Sarapis, and Asklepios (see Figures 93, 97), or – among the heroes – peerless, such as Herakles and Achilles. Instead, the successors opted for "big hair" that frames the face like a halo, advertising their royal *dynamis*: their heroic – even godlike – energy and potency.

To return to Demetrios (Figures 28–29): Mercurial, flamboyant, extravagant, hedonistic, hailed by the Athenians as a liberator, and residing like a god in the Parthenon along with his mistress, he and his father, Antigonos One-Eye, donned the diadem in 306 after annihilating the Ptolemaic fleet off Cyprus. Feted by Athens and other Greek cities, they were showered with honors – bronze and marble portraits included. Yet a mere five years later, their fortunes collapsed. Cornered by Lysimachos and Seleukos, and fighting until the bitter end, the eighty-year-old Antigonos fell to a shower of javelins (these guys were tough!), and Demetrios found himself literally at sea, retaining only his fleet and a few key naval bases.

Undaunted, Demetrios soon began to mint coins variously featuring a smiting Poseidon or Athena; a warship carrying a trumpet-blowing Nike uncannily similar to the – much later – Nike of Samothrace (see Figures 38, 46) but long thought by scholars to copy it; and soon his own portrait (Figure 28), complete with Poseidon's bull's horns sprouting from



29. Demetrios Poliorketes, Roman marble bust from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. Originally set on a herm shaft, it copies a full-length bronze of ca. 300–285, perhaps the one made by Teisikrates, a second-generation follower of Lysippos. Identified from Demetrios's coin portraits (Figure 28), it shows him as youthfully handsome, gazing toward far horizons, like Alexander (Figure 22); Poseidon's bull's horns sprout discreetly from his skull. H 17 1/8 in. (43.5 cm). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

his skull.[6] The first overt signs of auto-deification among Alexander's successors (Demetrios was eternally bullish), they received a ringing endorsement a decade later, when after a stunning comeback, he triumphantly entered Athens to the strains of a hymn that shamelessly matched his colossal pretensions and supposedly godlike agency:

> Joyful and beautiful,
> Like a god, with smiling face,
> Showering his blessings around.
> How noble he looks!
> His friends encircle him; he is the center.
> They are like bright stars, but he is the sun.
> Hail, almighty Poseidon's mightier son,
> Hail, son of Aphrodite.
> For the other gods are far away
> Or cannot hear,
> Or don't exist, or don't care for us at all.
> But you are here, and visible,
> Not carved in wood or stone, but real,
> And so we pray to you.

This is poetic flattery, penned in the context of a visit by a king who had been recently deserted by the fickle Athenians in his darkest hour and was now desperately needed as an ally. Yet even so, it is often misunderstood. In particular, because it begins by affirming that "[t]he greatest and most beloved of the gods are present in the city," its otherwise shocking put-down of "the other gods" and their images is not dismissing the Olympians, as is often thought, but rather those lesser, currently absent divinities. Unlike them, Demetrios was indeed *right there*, his agency directly manifest (*epiphanēs*) and unmediated by any image. Unlike them, he was *both* powerful *and* present in person. Yet to voice such sentiments at all would have been unthinkable before Alexander; so radically had the world changed.

A Roman marble herm from the Villa of the Papyri (Figure 29) translates these sentiments into the round but tactfully shrinks the man-god's horns to a more discreet size.

LATER HELLENISTIC RULERS

This innovation, which was inaugurated by Ptolemy's Alexanders with their Amun's horns and swiftly achieved classic form with Lysimachos's (Figure 26),

6 Some prefer to identify the horns as symbols of Dionysos, "whom Demetrios took as his model, since this god was most terrible when waging war, but also most skillful at exploiting the ensuing peace for the pursuit of pleasure and enjoyment" (Plutarch, *Life of Demetrios* 2).



30. Engraved lapis lazuli seal-stone of Perseus (212–166), king of Macedon from 178 to 168. This brilliant blue intaglio shows the king in the guise of his namesake, the hero Perseus. He wears a winged helmet with a crest in the form of a cock's head; Perseus's scimitar, used to behead the Gorgon Medusa, appears in the background. The beard, unusual for a Hellenistic king, probably imitates that of his father, King Philip V, who in turn grew his to imitate Philip II: his great predecessor, his namesake, and Alexander's father. H 3/4 in. (1.7 cm). London, British Museum.

started a trend. Pan's goat's horns, Helios's solar rays, Perseus's winged hat and scimitar (Figure 30), Herakles' club (Figure 31), and even Zeus's eagle scalp soon joined the repertoire of fancy royal appendages, as artists strove to publicize their clients' heroic and godlike pedigrees, policies, achievements, and real or potential agency through tendentious simile and metaphor.

Yet the unbridled self-promotion of the Age of the Successors had ended in the late 280s. In 283, at age eighty-six, Ptolemy died in his bed, the only one of them to do so; and in 281 Seleukos, now seventy-eight, killed the eighty-one-year-old Lysimachos at Korypedion but was himself assassinated a few months later, on the brink of retaking Macedon. (These guys were *really* tough!) Their successors – lesser but wiser men – accepted the new reality. The unified empire was a bygone dream; the kingdoms had come to stay.

These outlandish attributes mostly appear not in sculpture, however, but on coins and especially on engraved gems, whose audiences were



31. Ptolemy II Philadelphos (309–246), king of Egypt from 283 until his death, and his sister-wife, Arsinoe II, queen from ca. 275 to 269, bronze statuettes from Alexandria. Ptolemy wears Macedonian boots and an elephant scalp, and he carries Herakles' club, while Arsinoe wears a *chiton*, *himation*, and coronet, and she carries a double *cornucopia* (her own invention); probably both of them also held scepters. Ptolemy's attributes identify him as Alexander's successor and his kingdom's champion, and Arsinoe's show her as Agathē Tychē (Good Fortune), the embodiment of the kingdom's prosperity. Their highly controversial marriage was based on both Egyptian and Olympian precedent, for Zeus and Hera were also brother and sister. Ptolemy: H 15 1/4 in. (39 cm). London, British Museum.

far more select. Moreover, they proclaim not that the king *is* Pan, Helios, Perseus, Amun, Zeus, or whoever, but that his temperament and achievements are *like* theirs; that they watch over him; that a heroic or divine spark animates him; that his reach and agency are potentially infinite; and that he deserves homage, even worship, as a result. They are the visual equivalents



32. Philetairos of Pergamon (ca. 343–263), Roman marble bust from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum. Originally set on a herm shaft, this portrait of Pergamon's first ruler (who never proclaimed himself king) is identified from his posthumous coin portraits. Somewhat classicizing, it smoothes out his rather thuggish features; his hair is noticeably less full than that of his master, Seleukos (Figure 27), befitting his status as a purely local dynast. H 15 3/4 in. (40 cm). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

of such Homeric epithets as "godlike," but now often are supplemented by an actual cult.

As in Alexander's case, almost always the bodies of these portraits are known only in statuette form. In addition to the Lysippic spear-bearer – a perennial favorite also known from two spectacular full-size bronzes of mid-Hellenistic or more likely Roman republican generals (see Figure 144) – we find rulers in dynamic "step-up" poses, gazing out over present or future "spear-won" lands; resplendent in full armor; decked out as heroes or gods (Figure 31); massively muscled, like a Lysippic Herakles (Figure 31; compare Figure 63); and/or valiantly riding horses (Figure 3), or even elephants, into battle – the latter being a blatant fiction, for no Hellenistic king did any such thing. Yet unlike the Pharaohs of Egypt, the Persian Great Kings, and the Roman Emperors, not to mention their own queens (Figure 31), these Hellenistic kings never appear in purely civilian dress. They were military monarchs, whose models were the bellicose Greek gods and heroes (Alexander included), not institutional or quasi-constitutional ones.



33. King Attalos I of Pergamon (269–197), marble portrait from Pergamon. Carved after his victory over the Celts at the headwaters of the Kaikos River ca. 237, when he proclaimed himself king and Savior (*Sōtēr*), this over-life-size, diademed marble head from Pergamon probably belonged to a statue that was either naked or clad in armor. Note the hairdo's resemblance to Philetairos's (Figure 32). The scars are products of later recutting for a stone wig (see Figure 34). H 15 1/2 in. (39.5 cm). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

The Attalids of Pergamon and the kings of far-off Baktria offer an instructive contrast to this seemingly inexorable iconographic inflation. Even though the Attalids were never more than second-rank rulers and dominated western Anatolia after 200 only because they cannily hitched their star to Rome, they consistently cultivated a low-key royal style. The portrait of their founder, Philetairos, is known from coins – the Attalids retained it as their monetary badge until the dynasty's end – gems, and yet another marble herm from the Villa of the Papyri (Figure 32). Never proclaiming himself king or donning the diadem, Philetairos shunned both the "craggy campaigner" and "wonder-boy" ruler types (Figures 27, 29) for a simple coiffure and more homely physiognomy – although he still retained the obligatory Alexander-like, imperious turn of the head. As far as we know, neither he nor his Attalid successors ever assumed the trappings of divinity either.

No portraits of Pergamon's next ruler, Eumenes I, survive, but his successor, Attalos I, is represented by a fine, colossal, and most revealing one from Pergamon itself (Figures 33–34). Carved after he won a great victory against the invading Celts around 237 and proclaimed himself King and Savior (*Sōtēr*), it retained Philetairos's unassuming hairdo but now wore a diadem. Some time later, however, perhaps after Attalos's stunning run of victories over the Celts and Seleukids in the 220s or even after his



34. King Attalos I of Pergamon (Figure 33) frontal view of the head after its later make-over, presumably after his Celtic and Seleukid victories of the 220s or after his death in 197. The artfully tousled hair, encircled by the royal diadem, is actually a stone wig, hiding and partially obliterating the original, more modest coiffure and diadem below. It proclaims Attalos's parity with the great Hellenistic dynasts, the Seleukids in particular (Figure 27). The mature yet unlined face and heroic, Alexander-like toss of the head are much enhanced by the exuberant coiffure, and the powerful bone structure and densely modeled flesh convey a strong sense of physical presence. H 15 1/2 in. (39.5 cm). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

death in 197, its hair and diadem were recut, and a flamboyant, diademed stone wig was added. Greatly ramping up the drama, this gave him hair as big as the Seleukids', Pergamon's former rulers and now his bitter rivals (Figure 27).

The Baktrian and Indo-Greek kings (Figure 35) blazed a different trail. Somehow securing the services of some of the best die engravers of the Hellenistic world, they produced for two-and-a-half centuries a stunning array of gold and silver portrait coins that are now coveted by collectors the world over. Echoing their erstwhile master, Seleukos (Figure 27), and subordinating divine attributes to a craggy realism, the faces on these coins throb with metaphors of force: strong chins, firm mouths, beaky noses, deep-set eyes, and jutting foreheads. Most of them wear military garb, and the martial figures of Zeus Thunderer, the smiting Athena Promachos, the invincible



35. Gold 20-stater (40 drachma) coin of King Eukratides the Great of Baktria, 172–145. Eukratides, who reconquered much of India only to be assassinated by his own son, wears a diadem and a Macedonian military cloak, armor, and helmet embellished with a bull's horn and ear. The bull's appendages were traditional Mesopotamian divine symbols, but to Greeks and Macedonians they evoked Dionysos Tauros ("the Bull"), divine conqueror of Asia. Eukratides' jutting chin, pursed lips, beaky nose, and deep-set eyes proclaim his iron resolve. On the reverse, the divine twins Castor and Pollux ride into battle, carrying long Macedonian cavalry spears, or *sarissai*. Found in Bukhara (Uzbekistan) and the largest of the Greek gold coins, it weighs 6 oz. (169.2 g) and is 2 1/4 in. (5.8 cm) in diameter. Eukratides struck it probably to reward a successful general on his Indian campaigns. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles.

enforcer Herakles, and the victorious mounted Dioskouroi (Figure 35) complement them on the coins' reverses.

Elsewhere, the later third and second centuries brought few major changes. The successors had mapped out the genre and explored most of its possibilities, at least for the present. A few rulers grew beards again for reasons that are unclear, except in the case of Philip V of Macedon (reigned 221–179). Probably he wanted to evoke his great namesake, Philip II (382–336), the revered founder of the "modern" Macedonian kingdom and Alexander's father. Conceived when Rome's shadow was lengthening over the Hellenistic world and Macedon was struggling to maintain its hegemony even in mainland Greece, and widely disseminated in coin, this portrait announced that national revival and a new era of Macedonian greatness were under way.

Thwarted by his own brutality and his unhappy knack of uniting his enemies against him, however, Philip was decisively defeated by Rome in 197 and confined to his kingdom, where he died with his revanchist dreams unfulfilled. His son Perseus, plagued by rumors of illegitimacy, conspicuously retained Philip's beard but also added the winged cap and scimitar of his remote ancestor and namesake, the mythical hero Perseus (Figure 30). Far less lucky than the latter or even than his own father, however, he went down in defeat at Pydna in 168 and died in exile as a prisoner of Rome. In



36. Silver tetradrachms of Mithradates III of Pontos (reigned ca. 220–185) and Mithradates VI (reigned 120–63). Around 200, the Pontic kings developed a unique portrait style: a sober realism that rejected the Hellenistic craggy and "wonder-boy" types, and instead stressed their non-Greek ethnicity and seriousness as rulers. Brows furrowed, they think hard before they act. Mithradates VI, who ascended the throne at only fifteen and styled himself as Eupator ("Goodfather") Dionysos, abandoned this image for a youthful one that, after his first war with Rome (88–84), increasingly resembled Alexander's. With hair streaming in the wind, eyes wide open, nose jutting, and lips slightly parted, he strains forward in longing, or *pothos*, for conquests new. Diam. 1 1/5 in. and 1 1/3 in. (3.0 and 3.3 cm). London, British Museum.

167 the Romans divided his kingdom into four republics, effectively emasculating it; in 148 they decisively crushed its last, desperate claimant to the throne; and in 146 destroyed Corinth and the Achaean League for good measure. When in 133 the last Pergamene king, Attalos III, publicly willed his kingdom to Rome (a clever insurance policy against would-be assassins and usurpers) and then promptly died, the Roman grip over Greece and western Anatolia became total, offering the glittering promise of an empire even greater than Alexander's.

MITHRADATES VI OF PONTOS

The last major player on the Hellenistic scene before Kleopatra VII of Egypt (Figure 2), and the last major threat to the power of Rome, was a king of mixed Persian and Macedonian blood, Mithradates VI of Pontos (reigned 120–63) – a kingdom in northern Anatolia that Alexander and his successors had largely ignored. During the second century, its kings had commissioned coin portraits of extraordinary sobriety and frankness (Figure 36A), quite different from traditional Hellenistic royal styles, for reasons that remain unclear.

Mithradates blazed a different trail (Figure 36B). By 90, he had conquered the Black Sea's eastern and northern coasts, the Crimea included, and

had expanded south toward Syria and west toward Pergamon, which was now a Roman province. Sucked inevitably into conflict with Rome, he invaded western Anatolia in 88, slaughtering 80,000 of the now-hated Italian tax collectors and carpetbaggers who had come to profit from Attalos III's unexpected legacy. Mithradates then moved across the Aegean, sacking Delos, and into Greece, where the Athenians and others shortsightedly welcomed him with open arms. Most of the Hellenistic East was now his – for the moment. The Romans soon struck back, but it took three wars, more than two decades, and massive devastation (including a brutal Roman sack of Athens in 86) to drive him first out of Greece, and then western Anatolia, and finally his native Pontos. Fleeing to the Crimea and threatened with capture, he committed suicide in 63.

Mithradates' coins (Figure 36B) all bear his portrait. Quite sober at first, during the course of the 80s and 70s it morphs into a charismatic image that is clearly based on Lysimachos's stirring Alexander coins of two centuries earlier (Figure 26) – leonine *anastolē* and big hair included. So our survey ends on an ironic note. Alexander's closest imitator in the Hellenistic East was half-Iranian; ruled lands that the Macedonian and his successors never conquered; and mobilized his image for a quixotic – and ultimately futile – crusade westward against the waxing might of Rome.

3

VICTORY

As we have seen, Alexander changed the arts of power forever. In addition to immortalizing him in every major medium, Greek sculptors and painters soon employed at least five basic scenarios to showcase him and his exploits: battles (Figures 3, 37), hunts, processions, marriages, and "pageants" that paraded him alongside gods and personifications in order to frame, contextualize, and universalize his achievements.

Although such scenes were old favorites in Greece, typically they had tended to minimize, or even suppress, individual achievement in favor of the collective and the generic. Hellenistic ones, by contrast, celebrated a single, omnipotent personality – the king – and thus took on new significance. Above all, these military monarchs needed divine favor, victory in war, and viable heirs. These five scenarios neatly fit the bill.

Just as Alexander's city foundations, attendant cults, and portraits anchored his name and fame in the landscape of his empire, and his coins circulated his renown throughout the civilized world, these sculptures and paintings concretized, publicized, and applauded his achievements, complementing the writings of the historians and poets.[1] Recognizing a good thing when they saw one, and wrestling with the tumult that Alexander had left behind, his successors eagerly embraced all of these practices, as did the Romans when eventually they inherited his legacy of empire.

1 In Greek thought, fixed entities such as cults and portraits of a city's founder and/or benefactor were permanent marks of honor, or *timē* (pronounced *tee*-may); circulating ones such as coins, poems, and histories celebrated and disseminated his glory, or *kleos*. Unfortunately for Alexander, though, his court poets and historians were notoriously bad.



37. Alexander defeats Darius, the Alexander Mosaic from the House of the Faun at Pompeii, late 2nd century, after a four-color painting of ca. 330–300. The technique is known only by its Latin name of *opus vermiculatum* ("wormy work"). Laborious and expensive, it imitates the calligraphy of monumental painting, using thousands of tiny, individually cut mosaic cubes, or *tesserae*. The tactics suggest the battle of Gaugamela (331). As Alexander charges in at left (see Figure 3) and Darius gestures and calls futilely to him, the king's charioteer desperately seeks an exit, brutally crushing two Persians en route. Meanwhile, Alexander's spear impales a Persian, while another frantically tries to calm Darius's getaway horse. In the background, more Macedonian cavalry attack from the rear. 10 1/4 × 19 ft. (3.13 × 5.82 m). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

Yet although the ancient sources mention many such works, they describe few of them in detail and tend to slight everything produced after the Age of the Successors (i.e., after the 280s). Moreover, many of them unfortunately have no known location, later were taken to Rome, or survive only in Roman reproduction. But enough remains to enable a sketch of the genre's outlines and sometimes to fill in the details, as well.

ALEXANDER

As discussed in Chapter 2, Alexander both commissioned and inspired (even posthumously) a dazzling array of artworks that glorified his exploits and mobilized various supernatural powers to emphasize their significance. These works were extraordinarily influential in both antiquity and after, as Renaissance and later artists tried to re-create them from the texts to meet their own particular needs. Although nothing survives in the original, reminiscences occasionally can be detected in Roman mosaics, paintings, and statuettes.

The Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii (Figures 3, 37) trumps all of them. A late Hellenistic Italian reproduction of a late fourth-century four-color painting (using an austere palette of black, white, red, and yellow), it shows a hyperdynamic, almost demonic Alexander besting the Persian king Darius in battle. Using every expressive trick in the book (notice how all the horses glance at us), it turns us into eyewitnesses of a truly cosmic clash of ideologies.

The mosaic places us at the very center of the battle and at the climax of the action. Riveted by its realism (it has captivated connoisseurs of ancient warfare for almost two centuries), we witness history in the making. Headed by their young, dynamic, charismatic king, the Macedonians – a free community of "companions" – relentlessly demolish an ossified social pyramid, presided over by a middle-aged man whose massive war chariot heedlessly crushes his own men like beetles. To underscore the contrast, Darius impotently gestures and calls out to Alexander, even as the charioteer, king, and chariot covertly echo the iconography of rape scenes in Macedonian art (compare Figure 147). At center, a terrified Persian wrestles with Darius's panicking getaway horse.

Meanwhile, behind Darius, a row of cavalry spears looms ominously over the battle. To judge by the associated helmets, all moving to the right, and the consternation of the nearby Persians, they must be Macedonian. Amazed, we witness Alexander's unique ability (more than two millennia before the invention of radios and telephones) to command diverse bodies of independently acting men toward a common goal: victory. The drachma drops: His military genius matches his daring.

The victory is all but won, and the dead tree pierced by a massively elongated Macedonian spear at center left confirms this by rhyming visually with the silhouettes of Darius and his charioteer, presaging the demise of the Persian Empire. It has been rightly observed that its top has been severed, as if by lighting, and that Alexander's shoulder flaps (Figure 3) suggestively are decorated with thunderbolts, too. The peerless son of Zeus Thunderer, celebrated as such both by his court propagandists and by Apelles (compare Figure 24), he is the supreme master of the *Blitzkrieg*. Awed by his charisma, courage, driving ambition, and apparent invincibility, we recall a comment about one of Lysippos's "leonine" portraits of him:

> … This bronze's eyes are blazing, cast
> In Alexander's guise. Blame not the Persian foe,
> For we forgive the cows that flee the lion.

Yet the gods (invisible but present in spirit) have crucially intervened to thwart both men. A self-sacrificing – indeed suicidal – Persian unexpectedly has taken the spear meant for his king. And although Alexander is within easy bowshot and is temporarily stymied, Darius's quiver is empty. Stupidly, he has literally shot his last bolt – in Greek terms, has committed a classic Aristotelian tragic *hamartia*. Long thought to indicate a character flaw, instead this word must signal a failure, fault, or error of some kind, for it

often designates something that seemed to be a good idea at the time but sooner or later turns out to have been a disastrous mistake. This mistake may be innocent, culpable, or something in between. Here it leads to a double reversal of fortune or *peripeteia*. Unable to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat, Darius can only turn tail and flee.

Alexander has won, but for now at least his hapless Persian foe will live, perhaps to fight another day, perhaps not: a salutary lesson for all. Relentlessly didactic and subtly tragic, this picture tells us (as it must have told its original Macedonian audience and then its Roman/Italian one) why Alexander both triumphed as he did and yet ultimately came up short. Man may propose, but Fortune – ever fickle – disposes, to cosmic effect.

THE SUCCESSORS AND AFTER

Keen to bask in Alexander's reflected glory, the successors both commissioned a number of these Alexander scenes and engaged the best contemporary artists to represent them in a similar light. Some stretched the limits of their respective genres in interesting ways. Cases in point include the coins of Demetrios Poliorketes showing a trumpeting Nike alighting not on his own ship but a captured one (Figure 38; its prow ornament is broken off); the Hellenistic originals of the frescoes from a Roman villa at Boscoreale, near Pompeii (Figures 39–40); and the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon (see Figure 155 and Chapter 11).

Demetrios minted these coins (Figure 38) at Salamis in Cyprus. Yet he did so not in the wake of his great naval victory there over Ptolemy in 306 (as one would expect), even though it had propelled him and his father, Antigonos One-Eye, to the peak of their power and prompted them to proclaim themselves kings: the first successors to do so. Instead, they belong to Demetrios's darkest hour, in late 301, after Lysimachos and Seleukos had killed his father at Ipsos, dismembered his empire, sent him fleeing for his life, and left him only his fleet and a few naval bases, Salamis included.

Soon after this debacle, Demetrios's mother arrived from Anatolia, carrying all the treasure she could save. Struck to pay his remaining forces and to stiffen their resolve, these coins may illustrate an actual ship monument erected in or after his great victory of 306 – but not, as was once thought, the famous Nike of Samothrace (see Figure 46), for the Nike's right hand, discovered only in 1950, is open, and her style is far too advanced for this early date.

The remains of several such ship monuments, clearly intended to house real warships, survive at half-a-dozen Greek sanctuaries. One of them, on Delos, dates to this period and (inevitably) has been linked with Demetrios, Salamis, and the year 306. A long, marble building entered by a Doric porch and terminated inside by a triangular base for a ship's prow, it was embellished with friezes showing a cortege of sea monsters and a battle scene, and with at least one Nike *akrotērion*. Unfortunately, it is badly ruined and the vessel it housed has long rotted away. Since the Nike of Samothrace (see Figure 46), too, is now decisively out of the running on chronological grounds, the coins

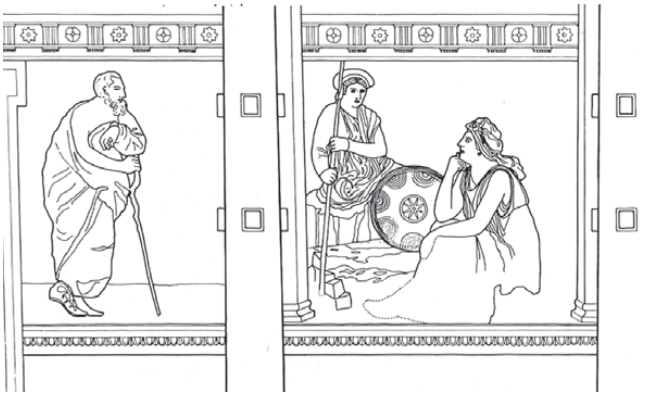


38. Silver tetradrachm of Demetrios Poliorketes, ca. 300–295. Nike, blowing a trumpet and holding a naval standard, or *stylis*, alights on the deck of a captured warship (its prow ornament is broken off). On the reverse (not shown), a striding Poseidon hurls his trident in the same direction. Minted at Salamis in Cyprus after the catastrophic battle of Ipsos in 301, these coins recall Demetrios's great victory of 306, when he destroyed the Ptolemaic fleet off Salamis. Struck to boost the morale of his remaining forces, they may echo an actual monument erected after this victory. Diam. 1 1/8 in. (2.8 cm). New York, American Numismatic Society.

(Figure 38) remain our earliest secure evidence for this iconic union of ship and Nike: an obvious move perhaps, but a brilliant one nevertheless.

The Boscoreale frescoes (Figures 39–40), on the other hand, address the aftermath of victory and petition for more. Excellent first-century copies probably of a monumental third-century Macedonian court painting, they offer an intriguing variation on the wedding picture that is based on the long-established Greek narrative principle of choosing the moment of greatest tension before a crisis breaks.

Athenian and later nuptial vases (see Figure 154) had focused on various moments from the wedding itself or its immediate aftermath, and a saucy picture by Aetion exhibited at Olympia in 324 (see Chapter 8) tackled the subject of Alexander's first night with his Baktrian bride, Roxane. In the Boscoreale frescoes, though, the figures' uncanny stillness and loaded interplay of gazes announce a momentous event: the forthcoming birth of an heir.

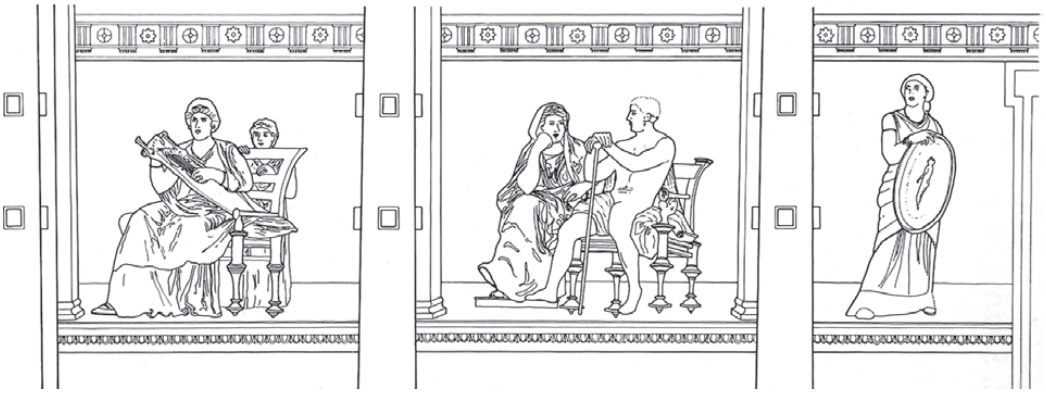


39. Reconstruction by R.R.R Smith of the frescoes of the great hall (H) of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale (Italy), ca. 50–30. Those on its side walls copy a Macedonian third-century court painting, supplemented on the north wall with pictures added by the house's owner, clearly a man of some pretension. Here, (1) a philosopher contemplates (2) Macedonia's rule over Asia (see Figure 40), while (3) a kithara player serenades (4) the royal couple, and (5) a woman holds a shield, on whose polished surface an oracular apparition announces the birth of a male heir to the throne. The Roman additions (Dionysos and Ariadne, Aphrodite and Eros, and the Three Graces), not shown, gloss this royal marriage. New York, Metropolitan Museum, and Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

An apparition shimmering on a polished golden shield held by the woman at far right – a naked, diademed youth, similar to the Getty Bronze (see Figure 68) – predicts the happy outcome, while at far left, a court philosopher – identifiable by his trademark rough cloak, shaggy hair, long beard, and furrowed brow – stands ready to educate the boy.[2] Meanwhile, at center, a woman attended by a slave girl strums a kithara in celebration. Two pairs of figures flank her: at left, Macedonia (complete with her national hat, the *kausia*, and a distinctively scalloped shield) lords it over a vanquished Asia (who wears a floppy Persian hat, or *tiara*, like those in the Alexander Mosaic: see Figure 37); and at right, an enthroned, muscular king sits with his pensive – and presumably pregnant – queen at his side. She and Asia are similarly posed, suggesting that their relations with their master and mistress, respectively, are comparable.

Carefully selected attributes further inflect the message. Macedonia holds a spear whose shaft crosses the blue sliver of the Hellespont and whose butt rests on Asian territory, bluntly referencing Alexander's claim that the latter was "spear-won" and holding out hope that some of it, at least, might

2 He also wears a ring with a letter on it. Although it is often interpreted as an E, high-resolution digital photographs show that it actually resembles the Greek lower-case letter *lambda* (λ), or (from the philosopher's point of view) a capital *upsilon* (Y). In either case, all speculation as to his identity based on the E is therefore moot.



soon be regained for Macedon. But this monarch is no mere soldier king, for he holds a scepter, Zeus's gift and symbol of his divine right to rule. Spear-won conquests legitimize his power; the scepter proclaims his wisdom and justice (as does the philosopher); and the fresco as a whole celebrates his physical potency and good fortune, past, present, and future. This composition sets the stage for an array of royal set pieces that climax in our period with the Tazza Farnese (Figure 1) and continue through the Roman Empire and beyond.

Like the Boscoreale frescoes and the Tazza, many of these works also included gods and personifications of various kinds. Indeed, only the battles and hunts apparently did without them. Thus, for example, in a painting by Protogenes that is now lost but is described by Pliny, Alexander's appearance with Pan signaled the panic he instilled in his enemies. Apelles' two paintings discussed in Chapter 2 showcased his crusade's two patrons, Athena and Nike (also featured on his gold coinage); its happy outcome (Triumph); the demons (War and Fury) tamed thereby; and the conqueror's future destiny (alongside the deified Castor and Pollux). In the famous painting by Aetion of his first night with Roxane mentioned earlier, the inclusion of Hymenaios (god of marriage) and a crew of Erotes filching his arms and armor wittily applauded his supposed conversion from war to love.[3] Finally, as we have seen, the Boscoreale frescoes (Figures 39–40) mobilize a personified Macedonia and Asia, an opportune oracle, and a tame court philosopher to reignite and revalidate the Antigonids' revanchist dreams.

Often these works are misleadingly called allegories. (As suggested earlier, "pageant" might be a better substitute). As mentioned in the Introduction, allegory – literally "saying something else" – requires that the meaning of the work *differs* from what is actually said or represented. To repeat a useful

3 A speculative venture that was exhibited for sale at Olympia in 324 (see Chapter 8), this picture was brilliantly re-created in 1517 by the Sienese painter Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (unfortunately nicknamed Il Sodoma) for the pope's banker, Agostino Chigi, and his villa (now the Villa Farnesina) in Rome.



40. Macedonia lords it over Asia, panel 2 from the west wall of the great hall at Boscoreale (Figure 39), ca. 50–30. Macedonia, wearing a diademed Macedonian hat (*kausia*) and with a Macedonian scalloped shield against her knee, sits on a rock overlooking the blue waters of the Hellespont. She plants the butt of her spear across the strait into the land of Asia, who wears a floppy Persian hat (*tiara*) and sits on a much smaller rock, contemplating her mistress. H of panel 5 3/4 ft. (1.75 m). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

dictionary definition, it is "a figurative treatment of one subject under the guise of another." Allegories are riddles that need decoding. Yet the message of these Hellenistic pageants is the opposite of riddling. When we have trouble deciphering them, it is because the temporal and cultural gulf between them and us has impaired our understanding of the genre, its protocols, its products, and its contexts, not because of any intentional obscurity on the artist's part.

PERGAMON AND THE CELTS

By 250, Pergamon's rulers had broken with the Seleukids and were expanding territorially, but they soon found themselves beset by tribes of Celtic invaders.[4] This was the easternmost surge of a great Celtic tide that had inundated northern Italy and Rome in 387; had all but engulfed Macedonia and central Greece in 280; and had spread into northwestern Anatolia in 278. In each case, victory over these huge, formidable warriors (who often disconcertingly fought naked) was hard won. In Anatolia a great Seleukid victory around 275 in the so-called Elephant Battle had barely dented their strength, and the Romans were still battling them in northern Italy in the early second century.

As for the Attalids, at first they paid them off – until around 237 when Attalos I defeated them in battle at the sources of the Kaikos River; drove them deep inland; and proclaimed himself King and Savior (see Chapter 2 and Figures 33–34). Nevertheless, the Celtic wars continued, ending only in 166 when Eumenes II crushed their final attempt at revolt. Gained despite Roman disapproval (they now wanted a balance of power in Asia), this triumph earned him huge prestige among the Greeks and may have inspired him to build the Great Altar of Pergamon (see Figures 14, 57–62).

As for Attalos, he celebrated his victories in truly regal fashion, dedicating huge piles of captured arms and armor (which were soon echoed in marble: see Figure 15) to Athena Nikephoros and others, and liberally honoring battles, victors, and the gods in both bronze and paint. We hear of a dozen major commissions at Pergamon itself, and also at Delos, Delphi, and Athens, that were variously authored by the sculptors and painters Epigonos (a local Pergamene), Phyromachos and Nikeratos (Athenian expatriates), Antigonos, Stratonikos, and others. Yet of this magnificent array, only some denuded stone bases and a few spectacular Roman-period marble copies (Figures 41–44) survive.

The copies, all found in and near Rome and appropriately fashioned in the dramatic baroque style (see Box 1, p. 24: "Classicism and the Baroque"),

4 In the sources, the Celts are variously also called Gauls, Galli, or Galatians. Properly, Gauls (Latin *Galli*) refers to those living in what is now France, famously conquered by Julius Caesar in the 50s, and Galatians refers to those living in central Anatolia, near what is now the Turkish capital of Ankara. For clarity, however, here they are all simply called Celts.



41. Suicidal Celt and dying Celtic trumpeter, over-life-size marble copies from Rome. The suicidal Celt has stabbed his wife in her right side and now stabs himself; his right arm and both of his wife's arms are restored. The trumpeter bleeds from a wound in his right side; his right arm and the adjacent parts of his base and trumpet are restored. Found in 1622–23 during the construction of the Villa Ludovisi, these statues (originally displayed along with a third in a triangular composition?) probably embellished the vast Gardens of Sallust. Together with others from the Palatine and Tivoli, they copy Hellenistic – surely Pergamene – bronzes of ca. 230–180; suggestively, Pliny credits Epigonos (a Pergamene sculptor responsible for several monuments to Attalos I's Celtic victories of the 230s and 220s) with a bronze Trumpeter and an Infant Pitiably Caressing its Murdered Mother. H 6 ft. 11 in. (2.11 m) and 3 ft. (0.93 m). Rome, Palazzo Altemps and Museo Capitolino.

fall neatly into two groups: Big and Little. The "Big Barbarians" comprise five dead, dying, and fallen Celts (Figures 41–42), and the heads of a dead Persian and a dying barbarian (Celt or Amazon?) woman, all almost 7 feet (2.1 meters) tall. The "Little Barbarians" are ten dead, dying, and fallen Celts, Persians, Amazons, and Giants (Figures 43–44), all almost 4 feet (1.16 meters) tall. They confirm the Greek and early Roman belief that barbarians came in two types: the sophisticated, bringers of tyranny (Figures 37, 43C), and the savage, bringers of chaos (Figures 41–44).

Their marble is Anatolian but comes from two widely separated quarries (Dokimeion/Synnada and Göktepe/Aphrodisias, respectively), each extensively exploited by major Roman-period sculpture workshops in the area. Yet these shops also maintained important branches in Rome, which regularly imported raw marble and mail-ordered plaster casts of inconveniently located



42. Head of the trumpeter from Figure 41. His brow is contracted in pain. His hair, originally longer and spikier, has been trimmed to remove the breaks.

originals to copy instead of going to the time, trouble, and expense of sending carvers to these far-off sites. So stone sourcing cannot help to pinpoint where the originals stood.

As a result, the location of the Big Barbarians' originals remains a puzzle. Two once-popular candidates, a large circular base and a long rectangular one dedicated by Attalos I at Pergamon to Athena Nikephoros (for



43. A dead Giant (top), Amazon, Persian, and a dying Celt, marble copies from Rome of two-thirds-life-size bronzes on the Athenian Akropolis, dedicated probably by Attalos I of Pergamon in 200. Described by Pausanias, the monument showed the Gods fighting the Giants; the Athenians fighting the Amazons and the Persians at Marathon; and the Pergamenes fighting the Celts by the Kaikos River. The rocky plinths are Roman; the Celt's head is ancient but alien to the statue; and a Renaissance drawing shows the Amazon with a baby at her breast. Recalling Epigonos's Infant pitiably caressing its murdered mother (see caption to Figure 41), this identifies her as Hippolyte, the Amazon that Theseus abducted from Anatolia and later married. She bore him a son, Hippolytos, and she died fighting beside him when her sisters stormed the Akropolis. L 4 ft. 1 1/4 in.–4 ft. 6 in.(1.25–1.37 m). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

her sanctuary, see Figure 14) to celebrate his victories of the 220s, are too cramped to accommodate such mighty figures.

The Little Barbarians, on the other hand, neatly fit a description by the indefatigable Pausanias, scale included, of a multifigured Attalid dedication in Athens, located south and east of the Parthenon beside the Akropolis's south wall. The footprints on its surviving bases, identified in the 1990s, fit those of some of the copies and show, against a century of speculation, that the victors *were* also represented, as was usual on Greek battle dedications and as Pausanias himself indicates. The copyists evidently omitted them in order to ramp up the drama and allow their Roman viewers to step mentally into their shoes. This was an obvious move, because (as we saw in the Introduction) the kingdom of Pergamon was now ancient history and (as will appear below) Rome had now inherited its mission to stem the seemingly endless tides of barbarism. As for the choice of an Aphrodisian rather than an Athenian workshop for the commission, the Aphrodisians (and their



43. (*continued*)

compatriots at Synnada) reveled in the baroque style and were experts at it, whereas the conservative Athenians generally disdained it.

These statues depict the Celtic struggle as a zero-sum game of death or glory. This was hardly surprising, given that the received wisdom was that the Celts were raving mad: the ultimate Other. Aristotle had remarked that their utter lack of fear was excessive, indeed insane, and other Hellenistic writers added that they were eerily white of skin; resembled Pans and satyrs; were addicted to unmixed wine; and had sex with each other in public. In addition (we are told), they often fought naked; raped and committed other war crimes indiscriminately; left their war dead to rot; and when cornered chose suicide over capture – to Greeks, a coward's exit. We would call them sociopaths. As Pausanias remarked, the Greeks realized that "this … would not be a fight for freedom like the Persian Wars; now, every man and every city knew that they must either conquer or perish." The Persians had brought tyranny, the Celts only chaos. Against the ultimate in savagery, the only choices were victory or the abyss.



44. Fallen Celt also from the monument copied in Figure 43. His right arm is restored, and he was perhaps begging for mercy rather than defending himself with a sword. His face is contorted with fear. H 27 1/3 in. (69.5 cm). Venice, Museo Archeologico.

Accordingly, the Celts' heads (Figures 41–44) are indeed satyric, complete with a wild, unruly *anastolē*, and their bodies are utterly un-Greek, exhibiting extremes of either defect or excess. Their skin is either so thin that the muscles pop out like tumors all over the body, as in the Suicidal Celt, or so thick that its rational structure – the very essence of Greek classicism – disappears completely, as in the Dying Celt (Figure 41).

Their nakedness, too, is insane: a nightmarish example of Greek artistic convention come to life but now in the person of the barbarian berserker oblivious to the ghastly damage that edged weapons can inflict. On the copies, the blood streaming from their wounds is even carved in relief and once must have been painted, recalling the ancient historians' horrified fascination at the fact that the Celts' white skins "made the gashes more appallingly visible and the dark bloodstains stand out more starkly." Were the bronze originals whitewashed, so that the blood, surely inlaid in copper as on the Terme Boxer (see Figures 72–73), would stand out more starkly there, as well?

Nevertheless, from Lord Byron onward, many have remarked that the Big Barbarians in particular are strangely affecting, epitomizing the "noble savage" in all his barbarian glory (see Box 3, p. 81: "Lord Byron on the 'Dying Gladiator'"). One prefers suicide to slavery; another dies with quiet dignity.

Yet although Greeks instinctively viewed the world in tragic terms (witness the Alexander Mosaic, Figure 37), in the final analysis such idealization of their foes would have served only to glorify the victors.

BOX 3. LORD BYRON ON THE "DYING GLADIATOR" (FIGURE 41)

George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV, Stanzas 140–41 (1818; identifying him as a victim of the Roman arena):

> I see before me the Gladiator die:
> He leans upon his hand – his manly brow
> Consents to death, but conquers agony;
> And his drooped head sinks gradually low;
> And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
> From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
> Like the first of a thundershower; and now
> The arena swims around him – he is gone
> Ere ceased th' inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won.
>
> He heard it, but he heeded not – his eyes
> Were with his heart, and that was far away;
> He recked not of the life he lost, nor prize,
> But where his rude hut by the Danube lay –
> *There* were his young barbarians all at play;
> *There* was their Dacian mother – he, their sire,
> Butchered to make a Roman holiday:
> All this rushed with his blood. – Shall he expire,
> And unavenged? – Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire!

The Little Barbarians (Figures 43–44) take this rhetoric to a new level, copying a gift by Attalos to the Athenians probably to honor their escape from a murderous Macedonian invasion in 200. During it, Philip V and his army, fresh from ravaging Pergamene territory, had devastated most of the Attic countryside but miraculously had failed to take the city itself.

Adding the bygone victories over the Persians, Amazons, and even Giants, this dedication not only set up a series of comparisons stretching back through time, but also insinuated that the Macedonians and their king, Philip V, were just as crazy as the Celts, just as tyrannical as the Persians, just as abnormal as the Amazons, just as presumptuous as the Giants, and just as barbarous as all of them put together, so they deserved exactly the same fate. The Persian and (possibly) Amazon among the Big Barbarians hint either at a Pergamene precedent for this array or an echo of it, depending on when one dates the lost originals. The jury is still out.



45. Fallen Celt from the so-called Agora of the Italians (a colonnaded urban park, or *porticus*) at Delos, ca. 100. He was displayed either alone (anticipating the copies, Figures 41–44) or with another dying Celt and a victorious, mounted opponent: The evidence is ambiguous. Originally he was fully gilded except for his hair and pubic hair, which were painted red; his helmet was horned. The monument possibly commemorated Gaius Marius's victories of 102–101 over the Germans and Celts in southern Gaul and northern Italy. H 3 ft. (93 cm). Athens, National Museum.

The only original statue of a Celt to survive on Greek soil (Figure 45) comes not from a Greek monument in Pergamon but a Roman one in Delos, and is not made of bronze but of marble. Once gilded all over except for his hair and pubic hair (which were painted red!) and displayed in the so-called Agora of the Italians (see Figure 54), he was either shown alone (anticipating the Roman Big and Little Barbarians: Figures 41–44) or grouped with another, dying Celt and a victorious opponent on horseback, fragments of which were found nearby. His head and corded muscles follow Pergamene precedent, but his torso is more classically structured.

By then, around 100, the Romans had fought the Celts successfully in Anatolia itself; Pergamon's last king had willed his kingdom to Rome; and the Roman consul Gaius Marius had just crushed a massive Germano-Celtic invasion of southern Gaul and northern Italy. The message would have

been obvious: Rome now shields civilization from the raging barbarian. Be thankful and don't forget it.

THE NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE

The most famous Greek sculpture after the Venus de Milo (Figure 7), the spectacular Nike of Samothrace (Figure 46) is a marble version of Demetrios Poliorketes' silver one of the 290s (Figure 38) – although several similar monuments had appeared elsewhere in the interim, any one of which could have been its source of inspiration. Its reputation is well deserved. Of all the ancient victory monuments that survive, it alone captures war's rollercoaster adrenaline rush of mortal peril, survival, and success.[5]

By abandoning Demetrios's trumpet for an out-flung, open hand (a standard oratorical gesture of address), the sculptor immediately turns us from mere onlookers to actual participants in the drama. Anxiously waiting on shore for news of the battle, we see a ship cutting through the waves and immediately wonder who has won. Suddenly, in a stunning epiphany, a winged Nike, Zeus's very own messenger, alights on its prow and gestures grandly toward us, announcing that the victory is ours!

Introducing an intriguing subtext, the Nike's spectacularly baroque drapery is violently storm-tossed – and Greek sailors thus imperiled habitually prayed to the Samothracian Great Gods for salvation. Yet given that oared warships cannot fight in storms (try rowing a boat in one), this motif can only be a metaphor, like the Alexander Mosaic's tree and intersecting spear (Figure 37). If so, one metaphor in particular might immediately have sprung to mind: the ship of state, a popular poetic and rhetorical theme from the late archaic period onward. Again the drachma drops. The gods are guiding ours through storm and surge, and safely into port.

The Nike and her ship were found in 1863 near a ruined building overlooking the sanctuary of the Samothracian Great Gods that was soon interpreted as a fountain, and most modern reconstructions dutifully place them there, gliding through a rocky pool. Preliminary restudy of the remains has questioned all of this, even suggesting that the building may not have been her original location. Tests have shown that the Nike's marble is Parian and that of her ship and base is Rhodian. Together with her baroque style, this odd combination has prompted many fanciful theories about her dedicator, sculptor, and date.

Since she now bears no inscription and the baroque style was popular for more than a century and still defies internal periodization, any date between ca. 250 and ca. 150 is theoretically possible. The Macedonians controlled Samothrace until 168 and the coming of Rome, and won many sea

5 As Winston Churchill famously commented after riding in the British Army's last great cavalry charge at Omdurman in 1898: "There is nothing more exhilarating than to be shot at without result!"



46. The Nike of Samothrace, ca. 250–150, after conservation and addition of new fragments in 2012–2014. She alights on a warship, flinging out her right hand (discovered in 1950, long after the statue was found) in a gesture of address. Her right wing and parts of her upper body are restored; her right wing should be raised high as if wheeling to land. The monument continues the tradition first attested in Demetrios's coins of the 290s (Figure 38). Recent restudy of its context has shown that reconstructions of it as a fountain with the ship gliding through a rocky pool are unfounded, but no plausible alternative has yet emerged. H total 18 1/2 ft. (5.64 m); H of figure including wings 12 ft. 7 1/8 in. (3.28 m). Paris, Louvre.

battles during that time; a Roman commission to celebrate that triumph of 168 founders on the fact that the war included no fighting at sea; and stylistic resemblances to the Great Altar's Gigantomachy (see Figures 57–59) could even suggest the wars of the 150s or 140s and a Pergamene venture.

As it happens, in this period Attalos II of Pergamon scored at least one major sea victory over his Bithynian neighbors with Rhodian help, which would neatly explain why their stone was used for the ship and its base. Moreover, in 156 his bitter adversary, Prousias II of Bithynia, had lost his fleet in just such a storm after plundering Pergamene territory (undeterred, he swiftly built another). Yet at Pergamon, at least, local Anatolian (Proconnesian) marble was standard for such monuments. Once again, the mystery endures.

4

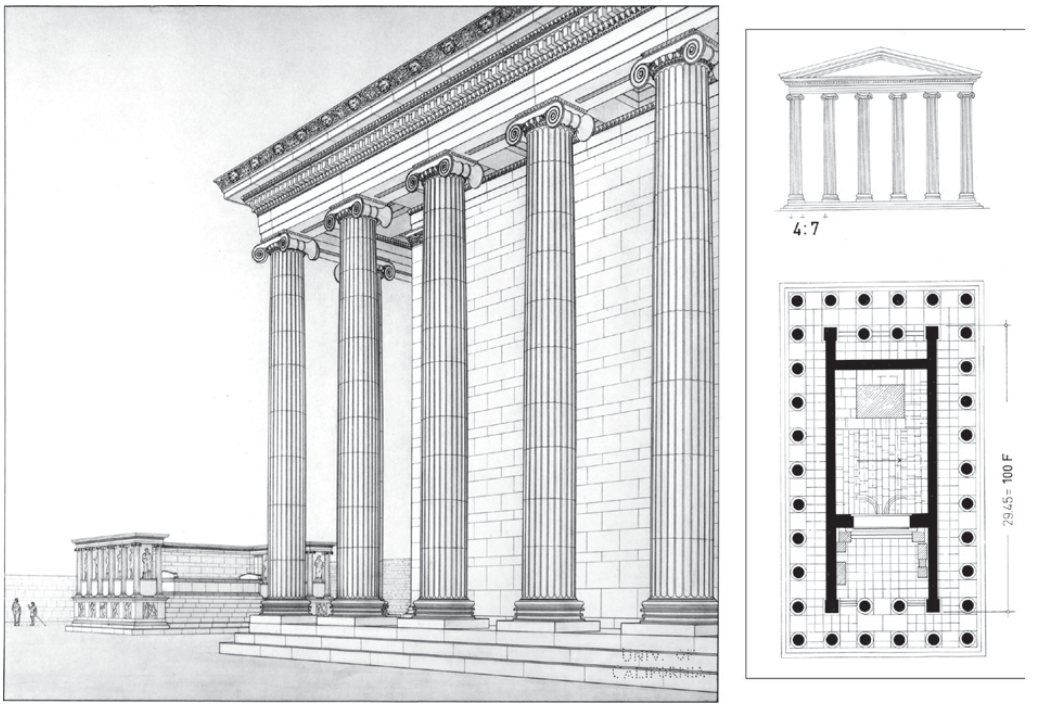
BENEFACTION

In summer, 334, Alexander passed by Priene on his march down the Aegean coast (see Maps 1 and 2) and stopped long enough to turn his attention to its new Ionic temple (Figure 5). His dedicatory inscription (Figure 9), inscribed on one of the temple's spur walls, or *antae*, probably commemorates a cash benefaction (*euergesia*) to relieve a funding crisis and complements another decree of his exempting the city from donating to his crusade.[1]

It also neatly killed two birds with one stone, because Athena was the expedition's patroness, and she and her temples at Athens (including the Parthenon) and elsewhere had already benefited greatly from Alexander's generosity. In addition to enlisting her aid as goddess of war and victory, his gifts helped avenge the Persian outrages of 480, including their sack of the Akropolis; furnished concrete proof of his impressive power of agency; and discreetly created a sense of obligation among their recipients. As will appear, ulterior motives of this sort were common in such cases. Gifting is a technology of power.

Yet Priene's temple still took two more centuries to complete (Figure 47). In 156, King Orophernes of Cappadocia in southern Anatolia apparently funded a new cult statue for it modeled on Pheidias's mighty Athena Parthenos, which had been dedicated in the Parthenon in 438. A half-sized, cut-price version of this Pheidian gold and ivory colossus,

1 A recent attempt to lower the date of the gift, on the grounds that the temple's construction had not advanced this far in 334 and that Alexander used the title of "king" in his dealings with the Anatolian Greeks only later in his reign, is easily countered. Because Greek temples were built from the outside in, presumably the building committee waited to commemorate it until this prime locale (on one of the temple's spur walls, or antae, by its main door) became available, and then duly followed current protocol.



47. Reconstruction of the altar and temple of Athena at Priene. Designed by Pytheos of Priene in the 340s and subsidized by Alexander in 334, it exemplifies the so-called Ionian architectural renaissance. Pytheos criticized the Doric Order for its failures of design and architectural logic, and this was his Ionic alternative. Rigidly consistent in its proportions (based entirely on the 6 ft. module established by its column plinths), it rejects the exterior frieze of Athenian Ionic. Its design, too, is integrated in both plan and elevation. For example, the colonnade's width to length ratio is 1:2 (6 × 12 columns), and perpendiculars dropped from its lion's-head gargoyles would bisect alternately the volutes of the capitals and the intercolumniations; in the former case, they would also intersect the bottoms of the column shafts. By the late second century, it boasted a replica of Pheidias's Athena Parthenos as a cult image. H of column 37 ft. 5 in. (11.4 m).

the Priene statue featured only gilded wooden drapery and marble flesh. For obvious reasons, this venerable and conveniently economical *akrolithic* technique flourished during the Hellenistic period. A benefaction from a second Cappadocian king later financed another of Priene's public buildings, and wealthy private donors and public subscriptions funded yet more.

GIFTING AND BENEFACTION: A SHORT HISTORY

Benefaction, or *euergesia*, was the oil that greased the wheels of Hellenistic diplomacy, indeed of Hellenistic social relations at every significant level. Ultimately funded by the vast loot that Alexander had "liberated" from the

Persian royal treasuries and from the successors' own military adventures, it resurrected the lavish gifting practices of the premonetary worlds of the Bronze Age and of Homer. Such gifts cemented relations and created ties of obligation between both equals and unequals. Second-millennium Near Eastern texts often mention diplomatic exchanges of this sort, probably exemplified in the archaeological record by many of the exotic, non-Egyptian luxury items in King Tutankhamen's tomb.

As for Homer, in *Odyssey* 8, Alkinoos feasts the entire Phaeacian nobility (an example of aristocratic largesse that later pleased the snobbish Aristotle), and in *Iliad* 6, Glaukos and Diomedes, as they are about to duel, discover that their fathers had been guest-friends, and when they had met:

> Beautiful guest-gifts they had exchanged, each one with the other:
>
> Oineus gave to his guest a fine war belt shining with purple,
>
> While Bellerophon gave him a goblet of gold, double handled.

Leaping down from their chariots, Glaukos and Diomedes swap armor, but:

> There by Zeus, son of Kronos, the senses were taken from Glaukos,
>
> Who in exchange for the armor of Tydeus' son Diomedes,
>
> Brazen and worth nine oxen, returned gold arms worth a hundred.

Later, in *Iliad* 9, Agamemnon tries to appease Achilles' wrath with lavish gifts, including not only Briseis, the girl he had seized from Achilles at the beginning of the epic, but also:

> Tripods, seven unsmirched by the fire; ten talents of fine gold;
>
> Glittering caldrons, twenty in all, and as well twelve horses
>
> Strong prizewinners who gain by their swift feet prizes for racing …
>
> [And also] women of Lesbos, in faultless handiwork skilled …

… and much else. The embassy, however, failed miserably, because Achilles' honor had been outraged; he had no intention of being obligated to Agamemnon; and:

> "Hateful to me are his presents – the worth of a hair I esteem them."

Nor did such exchanges cease after the invention of coinage. In the mid-sixth century, when Spartan ambassadors visited the fabulously wealthy King Croesus (Kroisos) of Lydia to buy gold for a statue of Apollo, he generously gave it to them as a gift. Now feeling obligated, they sent him in return "a huge vase of bronze, covered with animals all round the rim, and large enough to contain three hundred amphorae of wine." The piratical Samian tyrant (autocrat), Polykrates, intercepted and stole it, however. Having grown

rich through such activities, Polykrates himself may have given one or more buildings to his native city (the evidence is equivocal); the Athenian tyrants and their families certainly did, funding the Altar of the Twelve Gods and a large fountain house in the Agora. In the fifth and fourth centuries, the kings of the Crimea and Cyprus donated grain to Athens (the local harvest being insufficient to sustain the city's booming population), earning themselves honorary Athenian citizenship, golden crowns, and other rewards.

Finally, in a typically democratic move, Athens and other cities had the brilliant idea of making their wealthy elites "donate" to the city on a regular basis. These compulsory "liturgies" (*leitourgiai*), as they were called, replaced the ad hoc aristocratic feasts and other gifts mentioned earlier. Aristotle praised them as appropriate philanthropic gestures for the wellborn and "magnificent," "for the Magnificent Man is an artist in expenditure … and his magnificence mostly finds an outlet in public benefactions, since these are the greatest forms of expenditure and the ones most honored." These liturgies were of two kinds: building and equipping ships for the navy, and funding the games, performances, sacrifices, and feasts at religious festivals.

As in these last few examples, Hellenistic benefaction, or *euergetism*, was a function of royal and elite investment in magnificence, munificence, and personal honor, and it was focused on the city. Because the feisty Greeks had always resisted income and other personal taxes (nothing new here), their civic finances were always precarious, relying largely on import-export and sales taxes, fines, confiscations, ad hoc levies on the rich, and occasional windfalls of war booty. Revenue shortfalls thus were chronic; famines and other disasters were potentially catastrophic; and (as at Priene, Figure 47) civic buildings and other projects were difficult to finance from the public purse.

Enter the benefactors. Rescue could come in the form of gifts, solicited or unsolicited, in cash or in kind, and from above (the kings: Figures. 9, 47) or within (wealthy private citizens); but it rarely came from other cities, which were burdened with troubles of their own. Thus, we find the city of Halikarnassos, forty miles south of Priene, honoring the donors of a new portico, or *stoa*:

> … so that those who have advanced money for the stoa that the *dēmos* (the citizen body) is dedicating to Apollo and King Ptolemy should be known to all, the controllers under whom the stoa is completed shall inscribe on its side wall the names and patronymics of all those who have advanced without interest sums of not less than 500 drachmas,[2] prefacing the list with the words "The following men gave the *dēmos* money interest-free for the construction of the stoa." They shall list first the person who gave most.

More generous benefactors were rewarded with honorary portraits, almost always in bronze (so almost none survive, although a few are preserved in copy: see, for example, Figure 85) and erected as appropriate in one or more

2 See Box 2, p. 23: "Hellenistic Money."

of the city's four key public spaces: the agora, sanctuary, gymnasium, and theater. Often their bases are inscribed with decrees or summaries of decrees detailing the circumstances of the gift or service and effusive expressions of praise and gratitude. A cheaper but apparently scarcer alternative was the painted portrait, similarly labeled and usually hung in one of the city's stoas.

Yet to restore the proper balance of power (at least nominally), the inscriptions usually begin by reassigning the initiative firmly to the city and its citizens, via the following formula: "The *dēmos* [has set up/has dedicated] X [the honoree], on account of his goodness, good will, etc., toward them." The *dēmos* thus appears in the nominative case (a.k.a., "we"), as the agent of the transaction, and the honoree is in the accusative case ("him"), as its object. This maneuver, in turn, predisposed one to regard the portrait standing above as a freely given honor, not as an admission of civic weakness, and its recipient not as a patronizing do-gooder (anathema to any Greek), but rather as a shining exemplar of those cooperative virtues that the city valued, honored, and wished always to nurture. Other groups, and even individuals, soon followed suit, commissioning portraits of their own benefactors and friends. They included – but were not limited to – military units, clubs, associations, fraternities, families, and individuals, and (in the monarchies) kings, royal officials, courtiers, high-ranking military officers, and others. Popular types included statues that portrayed the benefactor in civilian dress (see, for example, Figures. 79, 85, 100, 151–52), naked (Figures 4, 55, 144–45), in armor (Figures 23, 35 left), or on horseback (Figures 3, 35 right), as appropriate.

Modern philanthropy offers many similarities to these practices but also some striking contrasts. Honorary bronzes have gone the way of the dodo, of course, although painted portraits still may line the halls of power, be they political, commercial, or academic. Heads of state still regularly exchange token presents, but government gift-giving is focused on "aid" to "developing" countries in order to build infrastructure and alleviate poverty, hunger, and disease; monetary loans, on the other hand, must be repaid with interest. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and rich individuals (sometimes working through their own foundations, an institution unknown to the ancient Greeks because no one needed an income tax haven) often follow suit.

At home, however, when the rich are not hoarding or blithely squandering their wealth, they and their foundations also support cultural institutions, such as the opera, theater, symphony, and ballet – not to mention museums and universities, where privately financed buildings (such as, at this author's university, Durant Hall, the Tang Medical Center, the Haas Business School, and Doe Memorial Library) perhaps parallel most closely the ancient benefactions discussed in this chapter. As at Halikarnassos, several of them have a prominent donor wall by their entrances, and oil paintings of benefactors, high administrators, eminent academics, and others often hang at strategic locations inside. Yet does anyone now ever give them a second thought? As the Austrian writer Robert Musil once remarked in a famous essay on the practice: "There is nothing so invisible as a monument."

ATHENS AND COMPETITIVE BENEFACTION

Around 180, the future king Antiochos IV of Syria arrived in Athens from Rome, where he had been held hostage for the good behavior of his father Antiochos III for almost a decade. The reason was a catastrophic Seleukid war with Rome, which had been settled in 188 by a punitive peace that banished the dynasty forever from Anatolia (a large slice of which the Romans promptly gave to Pergamon) and saddled them with a huge indemnity. Because his elder brother Seleukos IV was now king, Antiochos decided to stay in Athens and enjoy himself, impressing its citizens so much by his geniality and generosity that they erected more than one portrait in his honor.

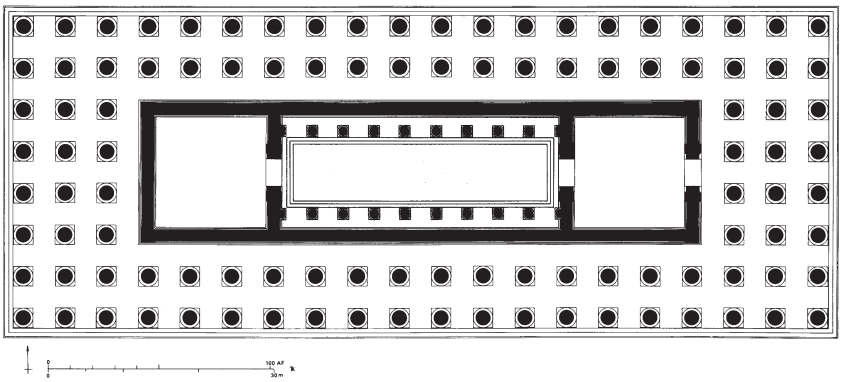
Honorary portraiture of this sort had begun in the fourth century and exploded after Alexander's death, so that Athens and other cities soon bristled with such statues, awarded for reasons that ranged from genuine gratitude for benefactions and other favors to outright fear. As Pausanias remarks of his visit to the Agora:

> Here are bronze statues, one . . . of Seleukos [compare Figure 27] . . . I am persuaded that he was the most just and the most pious of the kings . . . Before the entrance of the Odeion are statues of the Egyptian kings [compare Figure 31]. They are all alike called Ptolemy, but each has his own epithet . . . After them come the statues of Philip and Alexander [compare Figure 4] . . . Now the Egyptians had their honors bestowed upon them out of genuine respect, because they were benefactors, but it was through flattery that the people gave them to Philip and Alexander, and they set up a statue to Lysimachos not so much out of goodwill but because they thought to serve their immediate ends.

Since by the mid-first century BC Athens was producing copies in quantity for the voracious Roman sculpture market, and an Athenian signed one of those found at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum, many, if not most, of this villa's royal bronzes may reproduce those that Pausanias mentions above, the Seleukos included (Figure 27, with Figures 29, 32).

As for Antiochos IV, in 175 his brother died, so he promptly left Athens to reclaim his throne, aided by the Seleukids' former enemy, Eumenes II of Pergamon. The Athenians, delighted at Antiochos's success, thanked Eumenes with an effusive decree, a copy of which has been unearthed in Pergamon, and presumably also sent congratulations to Antiochos. He responded royally, donating a huge, gilded Gorgoneion (compare Figure 1) and *aegis* (Athena's protective talisman) to hang on the Akropolis's south wall, and offering to finance the rebuilding of the city's colossal temple of Olympian Zeus – his favorite god. Begun in the 530s under the tyrant Peisistratos, it had been abandoned after the tyranny fell.

For his generosity, Antiochos got to select the new temple's architect, and because his captivity had given him a healthy respect for Roman



48. Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, ca. 175–164 (columns, capitals, and architraves), Augustan and Hadrianic (the remainder). Funded by King Antiochos IV of Syria, designed by the Roman architect Decimus Cossutius, and made entirely of marble, it replaced an unfinished Doric limestone temple begun by the tyrant Peisistratos in the 530s. At 135 × 354 ft. (43 × 110 m), it equals an American football field in size. Like its archaic predecessor, it had a double colonnade (triple on the façades) of 8 × 20 columns, 104 in all, perhaps ultimately inspired by the forests of columns inside many Egyptian temples. H of column 55 ft. 5 in. (16.89 m).

efficiency and engineering skill, he chose a Roman one, Decimus Cossutius. The king's premature death in 164 cut off funding, however, and this temple (Figures 48–49) too stood unfinished for almost three centuries, until the Roman Emperor Hadrian stepped in, completed it, and:

> … dedicated the temple and its image of Olympian Zeus. The image is worth seeing. It surpasses in size all other images except the colossi at Rhodes and Rome. It is made of ivory and gold and considering its size the workmanship is good.

To understand the full import of Antiochos's gesture, though, we must backtrack one-and-a-half centuries, to the aftermath of Alexander's death.

Early Hellenistic Athens was not a happy place. In the two generations that followed Alexander's death in 323, it suffered two Macedonian-imposed tyrannies, several ephemeral democratic restorations, the collapse of its commercial supremacy, and a drastic decline in wealth and population. In 262, after an ill-advised attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, it was forced to accept a Macedonian garrison and ceased to mint its own coinage. Even after the Macedonians withdrew in 229, the city took more than a generation to recover, and the brutal Macedonian invasion of 200 that devastated much of the Attic countryside (mentioned in Chapter 3) did nothing to help.

During these lean years, royal benefactions to Athens were limited to emergency infusions of cash or grain and occasional subsidies to the kings' favorite philosophical schools. Probably in the 220s, however, Ptolemy III (who had taken the title of Euergetes, or "The Benefactor," and now had to live up to it) donated a fine new gymnasium, situated to the east of the Agora. Now buried under the modern city, it remains unexcavated. Then, after



49. Column and capital from the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens (Figure 48), ca. 175–164, Augustan, and Hadrianic. The slim columns, towering more than 55 ft. (almost 17 m) high, culminate in Corinthian capitals that swiftly became classics. Previously reserved for smaller, lesser buildings, Corinthian appears here for the first time on a temple colonnade. Two rings of acanthus leaves girdle the capitals, and each of their eight fluted stalks, or *cauliculi*, sprouts two more acanthuses, as well as inner and outer spirals that support the curved abacus. A central stalk grows upward from these leafy girdles, bursting into flower on the abacus.

the disasters of 200, Attalos I donated the extensive sculptural monument on the Akropolis that was discussed in Chapter 3 (the "Little Barbarians": Figures 43–44), as a morale booster.

A late third-century visitor to Athens described it thus:

> The city itself is totally dry and not well watered, and its streets narrow and winding, since they were built long ago. Many of the houses are shabby and cheap; only a few are well appointed. If a stranger saw it, at first he would find it hard to believe that this was the famed city of the Athenians.

He then proceeds, however, to cite its redeeming features: the impressive fourth-century Theater of Dionysos, the magnificent Parthenon, Peisistratos's huge, unfinished Olympeion, and the three great philosophical schools, each surrounded by lush lawns and groves of trees. (Only Aristotle's is still surrounded by greenery; Plato and Epikouros would be horrified at the fates of theirs.)

As for the Olympeion, Athens had seen no temple construction for more than a century, so Antiochos's gesture was as welcome as it was unexpected, earning him yet another honorary portrait from an adoring public. His gift, however, was not entirely altruistic, for upon gaining the throne he had chosen Zeus-Jupiter over Apollo (the Seleukids' traditional protector) as his personal idol and had decided to preside over the revival of his battered kingdom through a mixture of Roman-style efficiency and Attic culture.

Antiochos accordingly put a classicizing Zeus on his coins; funded temples to him and the Roman Jupiter Capitolinus in Antioch and elsewhere; donated a sumptuous curtain to his great temple at Olympia; and even – most notoriously – converted the Jewish temple in Jerusalem to his cult: the Bible's infamous "abomination of desolation". The new Olympeion at Athens capped this program, extended his reach to the Greek mainland, and paid handsome homage to the city's unique position as the fountainhead of Greek classical culture.

Cossutius, born into a tentacular family of Roman architects, contractors, sculptors, and art dealers, rose ably to the challenge, designing a temple that was truly magnificent and swiftly became famous (Figures 48–49). While retaining the plan of its archaic predecessor, he substituted for its relatively squat, austere Doric order the towering, elegant Corinthian – perhaps a first in Greek temple architecture. Its column capitals immediately became classics (Figure 49) and still remain so.[3] Early twentieth-century versions of them grace the façade of the Californian library where this book was written and (by a total but happy coincidence) even its author's front porch.

3 They became classics thanks to Sulla taking some of them to Rome as models when he sacked Athens in 86; they remained so thanks to splendid measured drawings of the temple published by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in their pioneering *Antiquities of Athens* of 1762.

Not to be outdone, despite their opportunistic alliance with Antiochos, the Attalids and probably also the Ptolemies soon responded in kind. Eumenes II (reigned 197–158) donated a magnificent two-story stoa, almost 600 feet (190 meters) long, along the south slope of the Akropolis, to be used as a grandstand and a shelter for audiences waiting to enter the Theater of Dionysos.[4] Doric below and Ionic above, with Ionic and Pergamene (palm capital) interior colonnades, it was made partly of Anatolian marble like the buildings in Pergamon itself (Figures 13–15). Prefabricated in Pergamon and bearing Pergamene masons' marks, these components were then shipped to Athens and reassembled on site. This was by no means unusual. Far from being blithely altruistic, royal benefactions were often self-serving in this way.

Eumenes' younger brother, Attalos, had studied philosophy in Athens, and when he succeeded Eumenes in 158 as Attalos II, he also responded in kind. His splendid stoa (Figures 50–51), now of local Athenian stone, must have been built at least in part by Athenian masons. Rebuilt in the 1950s by a modern benefactor, John D. Rockefeller Jr., to house the American School of Classical Studies' Agora excavation offices and museum, it dominates the site just as it did in antiquity. Pausanias, who disliked all non-classicizing Hellenistic art, ignored it entirely, but a prominent inscription on its architrave, which was recovered in the excavations, leaves no doubt as to who had donated it and why: "King Attalos son of King Attalos and Queen Apollonis built the stoa [*and donated it*] to the dēmos of the Athenians."

The stoa did simultaneous duty as a grandstand for watching the festivals and contests celebrated in the Agora, a refuge from sun and rain, and a shopping center. Echoing the Stoa of Eumenes in its elevation and deployment of the architectural orders, it housed twenty-one shops on each floor: an early shopping mall. A supremely useful, functional, and multipurpose gift to the city, it invites us (as the Agora's excavation director has remarked) "to consider once again how little has changed since antiquity except for the technology."

Next in this (for Athens) golden century, the rulers (half-Greek but increasingly Hellenized) of the minor kingdoms of Anatolia that had sprung up as the Seleukids relinquished the area joined the fray. King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (reigned 163–130) not only made a large gift probably to the Panathenaic Festival, but he and his wife, Nysa, also donated to the local festival guild, the Dionysiac Artists, and promised them safe conduct and immunity within his realm. Pharnakes I of Pontos and his wife, Nysa, Nikomedes of Bithynia, and two Ptolemaic queens also gave gifts to the city, but exactly what they were remains unclear. Only the Macedonians stood aloof, for the excellent reason that after the outrages of 200, the Athenians had banished them from Attica forever.

4 Archaeological work in 2005–10 showed that in the 160s AD, several bays at its west end were demolished in order to build the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, shortening its length to 535 feet (163 meters).



50. Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian Agora. Donated by King Attalos II of Pergamon ca. 150, the stoa was rebuilt in 1953–56 by the American School of Classical Studies to house its excavation finds, storerooms, workshops, and offices. Of Athenian marble, it is 367 ft. (111.96 m) long, 37 1/2 ft. (11.42 m) high, and 64 ft. (19.52 m) deep; its façade is Doric surmounted by Ionic in a 3:2 ratio, as on other Pergamene stoas and, for example, Figure 15. The lower third of each Doric column is unfluted to minimize accidental damage by visitors and by deliveries to the shops in the colonnade. A bronze statue of Attalos in a chariot, later repurposed as the Emperor Tiberius, fronted its central axis.



51. Lower colonnade from the Stoa of Attalos (Figure 50), ca. 150, rebuilt 1953–56. Large, arched openings at each end ventilate the two 20 ft. (6 m) wide promenades, and a central row of Ionic columns, unfluted like their Doric counterparts so as to minimize accidental damage, supports the ceiling and upper floor. Behind the columns, twenty-one shops and offices, each up to 16 ft. (5 m) square and almost 20 ft. (6 m) high, stretch the length of the building, echoed by another, less lofty set on the upper floor.

What was the point of all of this generosity to a city long past its prime and now of marginal political importance at best? More than a century ago, the first modern historian of Hellenistic Athens offered a magisterial explanation:

> [The Macedonian withdrawal from Athens in 229 and the general acceptance of its neutrality thereafter] had consecrated it to Aphrodite and the Graces, just as Delos and Delphi were sacred to Apollo; so that henceforth Greek rulers were able to render homage to it without regard to political consequences. Its political insignificance was, in fact, a source of strength, for in recognizing the leadership of Athens the kings struck a blow at the pretensions of their rivals. Pergamon could thus injure the prestige of Alexandria, and the new half-Greek courts in Anatolia could worship Hellenism without being drawn into the orbit of either Pergamon or Antioch. To foster Hellenism, however, was

> a prime necessity for the rulers of Asia, since it was the sympathy between the dynasty and the Greek elements in their kingdoms that enabled them to maintain their position over against the native populations. The veneration in which Athens was held by the Hellenistic monarchs, finally, reacted in its turn upon the rest of Greece …
>
> In view of the position which recognition of this sort implies, it is not to be wondered at that the Athenians came to believe in the value of their own favor – to imagine that they alone had the key to immortality … Accordingly, they prepared resolutions which were to "fix the noble actions" of those whom they praised "in deathless memory," "constitute a monument in their honor to be seen for unending time," or "duly arrange everything for their glory and further reputation."

The Athenians also voted these benefactors the (now almost obligatory) honorary portraits in bronze, set up in the Agora on shoulder-high bases that literally elevated them above the herd. Together with the decrees, inscribed on marble stelai, these portraits concretized the city's gratitude, the memory of the gift itself, and the honor code that had generated that gift. As noted earlier in this section, the practice had begun after 400, and by now the Agora bristled with these portraits; the Akropolis and other public spaces soon followed suit.

All of the kings mentioned earlier in this section duly received such portraits, sometimes in colossal form and sometimes more than once. (As a special honor, the two Pergamene kings stood in bronze chariots in front of their respective stoas; after the dynasty had passed into history, however, the frugal Athenians rededicated the bronzes to Roman emperors.)

Although all of these bronzes are lost, a single Athenian royal portrait in marble survives (Figure 52). It is recognizable as such by the cutting in its hair for a metal diadem, and it probably was commissioned not by the Athenian state but by a private association. Found on the west slope of the Akropolis, it has been plausibly identified as Ariarathes V of Cappadocia on the strength of the Dionysiac Artists' fulsome resolution thanking him for his gifts, which were mentioned earlier in this section. Among his other honors, this specified that: "an *agalma* [marble cult image] of him is to be set up next to the God [Dionysos]" and "a bronze [portrait] in the gatehouse to the sanctuary." The Athenian state had studiously avoided giving the kings divine honors after its bad experiences with Alexander and Demetrios Poliorketes, and this is the only extant example of the practice in the vast corpus of Athenian inscriptions, so the case for Ariarathes is strong. Made for insertion into a body of a different marble, it combines an Alexander-like hairstyle (soon resurrected again by Mithradates VI: Figure 36B) with unmistakable, if heavily idealized, portrait features, an appropriately aquiline nose included.



52. Possibly King Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator ("Pious and Father-Loving") of Cappadocia (reigned 163–130), marble portrait from the west slope of the Athenian Akropolis. Along with its flowing, deeply drilled mane of "leonine" hair, Alexander-like poise, and cutting for a metal diadem, its distinctive physiognomy somewhat resembles Ariarathes' coin portraits. Its soft, rather feminine face could be Dionysiac, or it could signal the opulence (*tryphē*: see the Introduction and Chapter 9) vaunted by Eastern Hellenistic kings. Its material suggests a cult statue (*agalma*), and it was carved for insertion into a body of a different stone. H 15 3/4 in. (40 cm). Athens, National Museum.

DELOS, MACEDON, AND ROME

As we have seen, Athens, although uniquely favored by the kings, was by no means alone. Among the countless locales that were endowed by patrons great and small in this way, Apollo's sacred island of Delos (Figure 53) attracted competitive royal benefactions between 314 and 166, while it was independent from Athens. Antigonos Gonatas and Philip V of Macedon both donated stoas, the latter probably in response to an earlier one across the street that had been donated by the Attalids in the 240s or 230s. Rows of honorary portraits of all kinds and other bronzes celebrating their victories over the Celts and others (compare Figures 41–44) soon stood before these

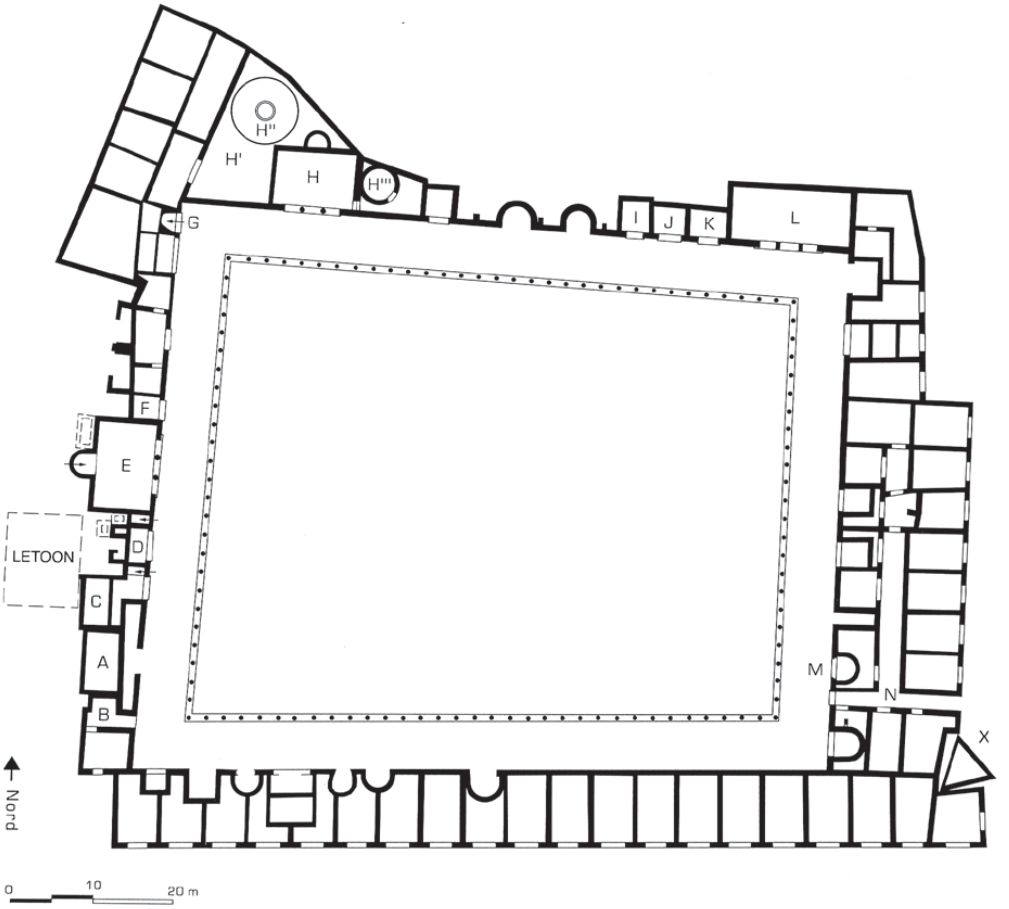


53. Reconstruction of the port of Delos ca. 100, looking northwest from Mount. Kynthos. From left to right: The Agora of the Competaliasts faces the outer end of the breakwater; Macedonian and Pergamene stoas stand just to its right, alongside the harbor; the walled sanctuary of Apollo is at center right and is bordered at far right by the long]-shaped stoa of King Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon (reigned 279–239). Immediately behind the stoa, at far right, is the so-called Agora of the Italians.

stoas. Meanwhile, some enterprising Alexandrians built no fewer than three sanctuaries to their new, composite god Sarapis (see Figure 97) in a valley southeast of town.

These gifts and return honors were relatively conventional. It took immigrant Italian and Roman businessmen (who formed distinct communities until the Italians finally received Roman citizenship in 90) to put their own particular stamp on the island's built environment. A few such entrepreneurs had arrived already in the third century, but this trickle soon became a stream after the fall of Macedon in 166 and the resumption of Athenian rule over Delos at Rome's behest.

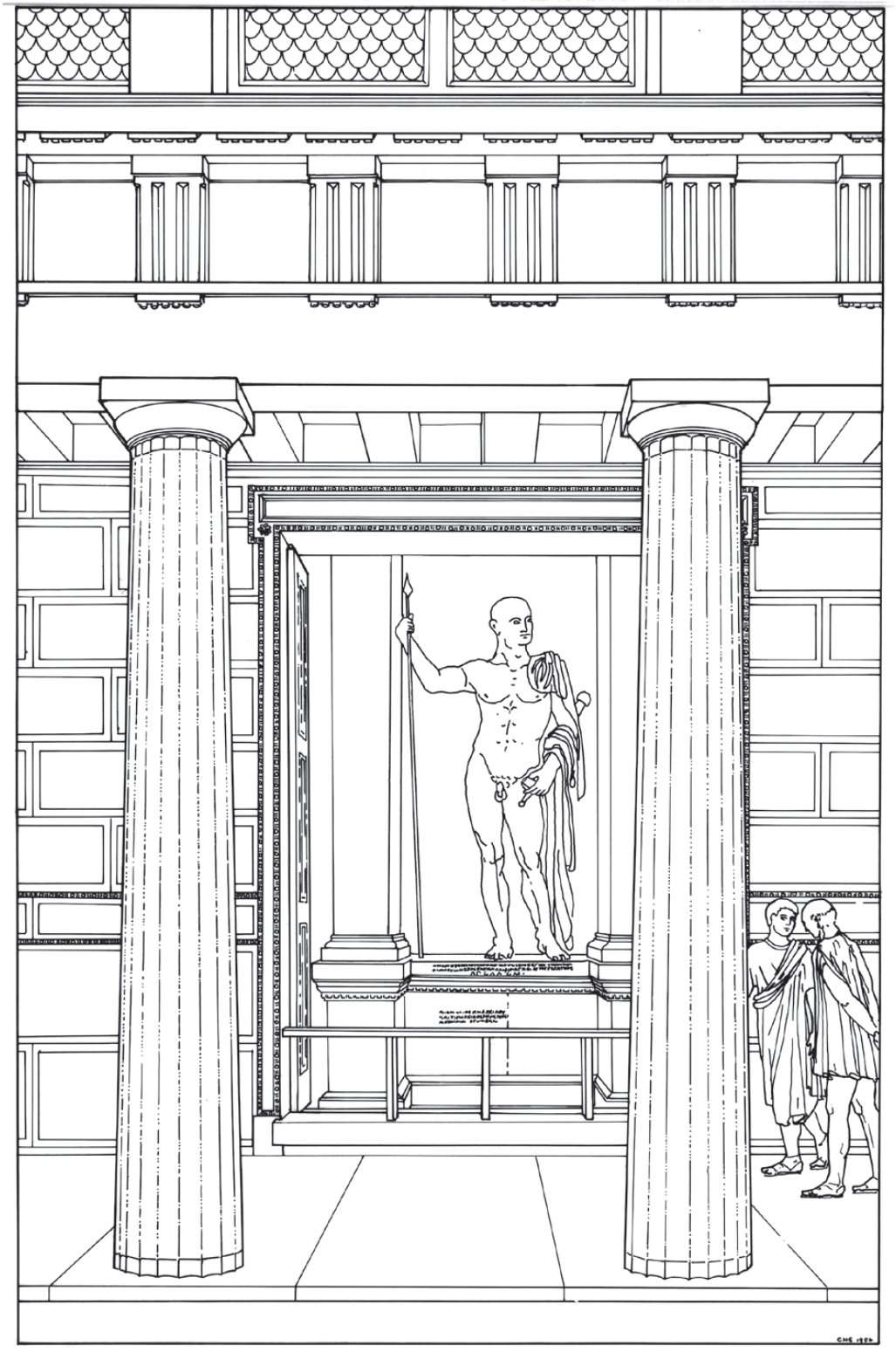
The stream swelled to a torrent after 133, when Pergamon and its territory became a Roman province and the east-west slave trade reached its climax. (One first-century writer even claims that during this period, the island's slave markets could process a staggering 10,000 souls a day.) Around 150, an association of these Italian traders – the Hermaists (adherents of Hermes, god of commerce) – founded an agora in a strategic spot by the harbor, and by 100, dedications by another Italian association of freedmen and slaves – the Competaliasts (adherents of the Italian Lares Compitales, guardians of shops, neighborhoods, and crossroads) – appear there, too.



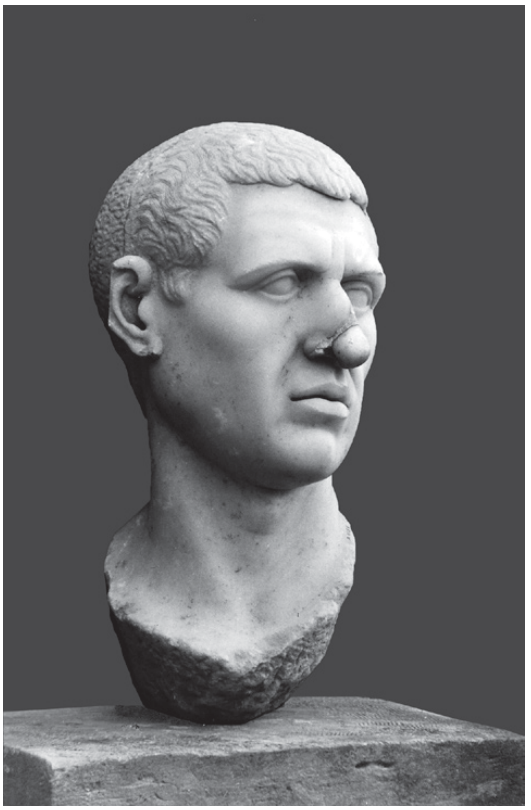
54. Plan of the so-called Agora of the Italians on Delos, ca. 120–69. A vast colonnaded quadrangle of booths, niches, lounges, and other facilities enclosing a central courtyard measuring 177 1/2 × 227 1/4 ft. (54.11 × 69.31 m), probably it was an urban park, or *porticus*. Clockwise around it from the (A) propylon are a (E) lounge; (F) niche of Gaius Ofellius Ferus (see Figure 55); (H) bath complex and lounge, added ca. 100; (J) niche, perhaps for the fallen Gaul, Figure 45; and (L) lounge. To the east and south, shops face the surrounding streets.

The Italians' major contribution, however, was their so-called Agora (Figure 54), which was begun around 120. A vast quadrangle measuring about 200 by 270 feet (62 × 83 meters), it featured a central plaza surrounded by a two-story colonnade, behind which stood several spacious lounges, two latrines, and numerous niches for honorary portraits and other sculptures (Figures 45, 55–56). Thirty shops adjoined it to the south and east, and a bath suite stood to the northwest. The colonnade was Doric below and Ionic above, the latter enclosing a gallery for viewing the activities in the plaza.

Clearly not a conventional agora or marketplace (since the shops face outward, away from the colonnaded plaza), the complex cannot have been a slave market either, because it lacks holding cells. (Several massive houses on



55. Reconstruction of the businessman Gaius Ofellius Ferus's niche (Figure 54F) in the Agora of the Italians, ca. 110–100. Commissioned by the Italian business community and



56. Head of a Roman officer, from niche 44 of the Agora of the Italians, ca. 100. Its "veristic" (a modern coinage from the Latin *verus*: "true" or "truthful"), or hyperrealistic, face is a mask, carved separately from the rest of the head (which was made for insertion into an equestrian statue in armor, a popular type), and glued on. This technique indicates a hierarchy of carvers within the workshop, led by the portraitist. The massive skull, heavy features, stern expression, and commanding turn of the head reference the craggy, seasoned warrior type exemplified by Seleukos and Eukratides (Figures 27, 35); the crew cut is new. Together they convey the classic Roman virtues of gravity, severity, austerity, perseverance, and authority. Perhaps it belonged to the victorious opponent of the fallen Celt (Figure 45). H 19 3/8 in. (49.2 cm). Delos Museum.

55. (*continued*)

dedicated to Apollo, his colossal marble portrait was more than 10 ft. (3 m) tall. Dionysios and Timarchides, sculptors from the prominent Athenian Polykles family, signed its base. Naked but for a fringed cloak, holding a sword and (probably) a spear, it now lacks its right forearm and hand, right shin, and head. It probably imitates honorary bronzes of Roman generals erected after ca. 200, as Roman involvement in Greece increased; such bronzes in turn had imitated the portraits of Alexander and his successors (Figures 4, 31). Its martial attributes, carried by other portraits in the complex, may symbolize Ofellius's social preeminence, given that he had no known military career and the inscription cites only his "fair dealing and benevolence" to his fellow Italians. Delos Museum.

the seafront south of the Agora of the Competaliasts do, however, fit the bill.) It may be an early example of a Roman *porticus*, an urban facility for relaxing and strolling, often liberally planted with trees and shrubs. Inscriptions on its architraves honored its many sponsors, who were both Italian and Greek. Bronze and marble portraits in its niches (Figures 55–56), often startlingly hard-boiled, honored its major donors and other benefactors of the Italian community. Finally, it also boasted several marble victory monuments (Figure 45) and an array of marble gods, heroes, herms, and miscellaneous decorative sculptures.

In 88, however, King Mithradates VI of Pontos (Figure 36B) declared war on Rome, invaded western Anatolia and sacked Delos, slaughtering 80,000 Italians in the process. Although recovery began soon after the inevitable Roman counteroffensive in 86, a devastating pirate raid in 69 sealed the island's fate. Within a generation, it lay all but deserted: a vast field of ruins beckoning the Mediterranean world to drop in and plunder.

FOCUS 1

THE GREAT ALTAR OF PERGAMON

THE ALTAR

The Great Altar of Pergamon (Figures 14, 57–62) brings together all the various themes discussed in the first four chapters. Eumenes II (reigned 197–158) dedicated it, perhaps to Zeus and Athena Nikephoros or to all of the gods, probably as a victory monument and thank offering for good fortune; it was also a benefaction to his subjects. One of its Ionic capitals carries a thunderbolt; the cornice of its interior sacrificial altar bears sockets for displaying military spoils like those illustrated in Figure 15; its fragmentary inscription mentions "good things"; and it stood outside the royal palace compound (see Figure 14), and thus nominally in the city proper. Moreover, soon after its completion, dedications by the Pergamene *dēmos*, or citizenry, began to appear around it.

Pottery found in the Altar's foundations dates its construction to the 160s, an epochal decade that saw both the Roman conquest of Macedon in 168 (loyally supported by Eumenes) and Eumenes' own unaided suppression in 166 of the great Celtic revolt (disloyally opposed by Rome). The implacable Romans exultantly paraded the last Macedonian king, the luckless Perseus (Figure 30), in chains up to the Capitol in their subsequent triumphal celebrations; *300,000* even more luckless Macedonians followed him into slavery; and the loot thus acquired freed the Romans from extra taxes for a staggering *120 years*. Alexander's dream was now Rome's reality.

As for Eumenes and the Celts, the Romans' churlish refusal to help him (now they were promoting a balance of power in Anatolia) massively enhanced his prestige among the Greeks, already chafing at the conquerors' arrogance and brutality. All this was reason enough for such a sumptuous dedication, not to mention the gloriously expressive sculpture that embellished it.



57. The northwest corner of the Great Altar of Pergamon, now in Berlin, ca. 160. An Ionic precinct 100 ft. (30.4 m) square and 40 ft. (12.2 m) high, the Altar faced east, toward the sanctuary's entrance (see Figure 14). The monumental staircase at right leads up to its inner court and sacrificial altar. The exterior bore sculpture on three levels. The podium carries a Gigantomachy in high relief, 446 ft. (136 m) long and 7 ft. (2.3 m) high, in this detail featuring the sea gods and their opponents. Between the columns stood female figures, probably Muses, also 7 ft. (2.3 m) high (Figure 60; not included in the reconstruction); and the cornice bore akrotēria including Tritons, griffins, lions, and teams of chariot horses, each 3 1/2 ft. (1.15 m) high. Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

A version of an Ionic altar type popular in Asia since the fourth century, it was 100 feet (31.2 meters) square and loaded with sculpture (Figures 58–62). Its podium bore a massive Gigantomachy frieze in high relief, 446 feet (136 meters) long and 7 feet (2.3 meters) high (Figures 58–59). Above, in its

∏-shaped Ionic colonnade, stood 7-foot-high female figures, probably Muses (Figure 60), and on its roof stood Tritons, griffins, lions, and teams of chariot horses. Climbing the steps and traversing the screen colonnade at their summit, visitors entered a colonnaded courtyard with the aforementioned sacrificial altar in the middle, surrounded by a 190-foot-long (58 m) and 5-foot-high (1.6 m) frieze narrating the life of Pergamon's mythical founder, Telephos (Figures 61–62); on the cornice above it stood statues of the twelve Olympians.

THE EXTERIOR

Although the Altar's designer and master sculptor are unknown, the names and cities of the Gigantomachy's carvers (but not those of the Telephos frieze) were inscribed below it. Since the script is uniform, these were not true signatures. Instead, they showcased Eumenes' success in assembling this heterogeneous crew (native Pergamenes, Rhodians, Trallians, Athenians, and others) and in welding them into a unified team. They celebrate the maturity of a new Pergamene sculptural school: of a specifically Pergamene style of sculptural facture, or *technē*.

The Gigantomachy (Figures 57–59) also had identifying labels inscribed above the gods and below the giants – a necessity given the complexity of the composition and its sheer number of figures – cleverly signaling "gods up, giants down." The mood is epic and grandiose.

A mythical paradigm for Pergamon's struggles against the Macedonians and Celts (and already thus employed in the freestanding Attalid dedication of Figure 43), and a tour de force of the flamboyant baroque style (see Box 1, p. 17: "Classicism and the Baroque"), the Gigantomachy mobilizes every known technique of drill, chisel, rasp, and polish, and every possible rendition of god, man, and beast, and of hair, flesh, cloth, and metal, to depict this titanic conflict. A barrage of textures assaults the senses, and surely did so even more stridently when enhanced by color. The gods are built like prizefighters, every muscle bursting with life; the goddesses are full-figured and sensuous; and the giants are crazy hybrids, usually snake-legged, sometimes animal-headed, and often winged. While the gods are stern and the goddesses stunningly beautiful, their opponents are tortured and bestial, their hair (like their features, often ripped open by the drill) writhing and flaming about their apoplectic faces in feral versions of the *anastolē*.

Also quoting liberally from earlier styles (particularly the late classical), figures, and monuments (including some Pergamene ones, such as the Big Barbarians: Figure 41), the frieze proclaims Pergamon as the new Athens: the home of (in this case) an awesomely authoritative new vehicle for epic sculptural narrative, based on and transcending the best of the old. Here it parallels and probably owes much to the local "Asiatic" style of rhetoric, much vilified by die-hard classicizers for its energetic exploitation of amplification, antithesis, pathos, surprise, and other such rhetorical tricks in order to "sway the soul."

This is not to say, however, that the frieze is chaos: far from it. The gods are grouped first geographically and then by family (parents and children

(a)



58a & b. Zeus and Athena fight the Giants, from the eastern podium of the Great Altar, ca. 160. Zeus fights three Giants, one already felled by a thunderbolt, and prepares to hurl another thunderbolt at a second Giant, while an eagle brings him a backup. Meanwhile, Athena, having killed one Giant, drags another, Alkyoneus, away from his mother, the Earth goddess Ge, as Nike crowns her. The V-shaped, centrifugal composition echoes, in mirror image, the west pediment of the Parthenon at Athens. H 7 ft. (2.3 m). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

fight together). Beginning with the long, eastern side opposite the sanctuary's entrance and moving rightward (anticlockwise), the sequence is: Olympos (Figure 58a & b); the ends of the earth (Figure 59) and encircling Ocean (Figure 57); the East; and the day and night skies. Zeus is omnipresent. Opposite the entrance (Figure 58a & b), he wields his thunderbolt with devastating effect against no fewer than three giants, flanked by his wife, Hera, and favorite daughter, Athena; his eagle carries the weapon like a homing missile to the south and west sides, and perhaps originally to the north, too, where large parts of the frieze are missing.

In the Ionic colonnade above this cosmic struggle, now all but decided in the Olympians' favor, stood the Muses (Figure 60). These divine daughters of Zeus and Memory perhaps numbered up to fifty, if the Altar's designer followed the Pergamene myth that the indefatigable, polyphiloprogenitive Herakles bedded all of them in one, epic night. (Did he use a timer?) Their task, preordained from birth and (according to Greek tradition) delegated to the poets and artists they inspired, was simple: to broadcast in deathless song the mighty feats recorded below and to fix them in human memory for ever.

(b)



THE INTERIOR

Proceeding up the steps and through the Ionic colonnade to the interior, visitors would first have encountered the sacrificial altar, with its massive display of military spoils, blocking their path and directing them to the left or right. Here, they would have encountered the Telephos frieze (Figures 61–62), observed by the twelve Olympians on the cornice above.

Unfortunately, only about one-third of this frieze remains: enough, however, to reconstruct its composition with some confidence and to evaluate the few extended sequences that remain. A continuous narrative of the hero's life, cast in an elegiac mood that contrasts with the Gigantomachy's relentlessly epic one, the composition drew on many sources, both textual and visual. A heroic quest in the tradition of Homer's *Odyssey* and Apollonios of Rhodes's early Hellenistic *Argonautika*, it also profited from the newly invented literary genre of the romantic novel.

Focusing on Telephos's quest for his mother and then for relief from a suppurating wound, the story unfolded from left to right behind an Ionic colonnade, which for some reason was never finished. The colonnade protected the frieze from the elements but compelled one either to view it from outside the columns, which segmented the narrative into 4-foot lengths, or from inside them, standing in the narrow, 3-foot-wide ambulatory between them and the sculptures. Accordingly, the designer subdivided it into episodes that were between 4 and 6 feet long, composed for viewing both slantwise within



59. The Gorgon Medusa and her opponents, from the north podium of the Great Altar, ca. 160. Medusa, wielding a spear and accompanied by a lion, bests two youthful Giants; no longer the grotesque monster of archaic Greek art, she is strikingly beautiful. The sculptor emphasizes her freedom of movement vis-à-vis her stiffly frontal opponents as she twists in space against the relief background and (using drill, rasp, and polish to great effect) highlights the contrasting textures of flesh, hair, drapery, animal skin, and the lion's magnificent mane. H 7 ft. (2.3 m). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.



60. Four women, probably Muses, from the Great Altar's outer colonnade. Three are unidentified but the left-hand one must be Melpomene, the personification of Tragedy, given her actor's platform shoes and the sheathed sword at her left hip. Suspended by a baldric slung across her torso, the sword is emphasized by the dart-shaped convergence of the two rolls of cloth at the upper and lower edges of her cloak. Original H 7 ft. (2.3 m). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.



61. Scenes from the north wall of the Telephos frieze of the Great Altar, ca. 160. The frieze, originally installed within an Ionic colonnade and protected by a roof, was intended for viewing from this angle, as one walked clockwise around it following its story. From the left: (A) carpenters build the disgraced princess Auge's coracle, in which she will be cast out to sea, while she sits above it among her maids, shrouded in sorrow; (B) [lost scene: Auge lands in Mysia]; (C) King Teuthras of Mysia hurries to meet her; (D) she founds the cult of Athena at Pergamon. The "stacked" perspective of scene (A), with its smaller upper/background figures, can be made out clearly. H 5 ft. (1.6 m). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

the colonnade as one walked along it and its scenes came into view at left, and then head on (Figures 61–62).

A microcosm of the Gigantomachy's universal reach, the composition bestrides the Aegean Sea, oscillating between Greece and Pergamon (and thereby anchoring the latter firmly to the former: Figure 61), and also quotes extensively from earlier sculptural monuments in both Greece and Anatolia Minor (Figure 62). Yet in contrast to the Gigantomachy's frenetic panorama of simultaneous battle against an undifferentiated background, Telephos's life unfolds episodically against an ever-changing landscape of plains, hills, mountains, battlefields, sanctuaries, and built interiors, all of them carved and presumably once painted as well.

Some scenes rely on the figures to set the mood, using landscape only attributively, in classical fashion. Others, however (Figures 61–62), offer fuller settings with rocky backgrounds, props rendered in perspective, and figures not only stacked at different levels (using the "aerial" or "bird's-eye" perspective invented by the painter Polygnotos around 450) but actually diminishing



62. Scene from the north wall of the Telephos frieze of the Great Altar, ca. 160. The dénouement to Figure 61: Back in Greece, Herakles discovers the baby Telephos exposed to die on Mount Parthenion. The hero, posed like the Farnese Herakles (see Figure 63), finds a lioness suckling Telephos. Replacing the usual deer, the lioness (whose mane vanished during World War II) signals that the boy is Herakles' son and will have a similarly heroic future. Note the hero's own lion skin, a trophy from his first Labor, the killing of the Nemean lion, draped over his club and touching the animal's haunch. Using drill, rasp, and polish to great effect, the sculptor has carefully contrasted the various textures of flesh, drapery, animal skin, wood, and rock to achieve maximum visual impact, no doubt originally enhanced by color. H 5 ft. (1.6 m). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

in height toward the top of the frieze – a device invented around 400 but better suited to painting than to sculpture.

In contrast, also, to the Gigantomachy's uniformly strident rhetoric, this frieze speaks in many voices. Walking from scene to scene, one notices that some are romantic (Herakles' first encounter with Auge, Telephos's mother-to-be, in Arkadia); while others are tragic (carpenters building the coracle in which the now-disgraced Auge would be cast out to sea: Figure 61); sentimental (Herakles' chance discovery of the abandoned baby Telephos on Mount Parthenion: Figure 62); gallant (the now-mature Telephos's voyage to Anatolia to find his mother, Augē); melodramatic (Telephos's and Augē's narrowly averted marriage, shortly thereafter); heroic (Telephos's battles with invading barbarians and wounding by Achilles at the Kaikos River); tragic (Telephos's desperate voyage around the Aegean seeking a cure); suspenseful (Telephos's seizure of the baby Orestes at Argos as ransom for that cure); reverential (Telephos's foundation of the cult of Dionysos Kathegemon at Pergamon, which later became the Attalid royal cult); and finally poignant (Telephos on his deathbed).

SUMMARY

The Great Altar, then, presents a totalizing panorama of Pergamene experience. On the level of artistry, it unites the most accomplished sculptors of the Hellenistic world in forging a new manner that synthesizes the best traditions of Greece and Asia. On the level of theme, it links the present (Attalid triumphs over potential destroyers of civilization) with the remote past (the Gods' own primordial triumph over a lunatic barbarism).

Implicitly elevating the Pergamenes to near-godlike status, this association also implicitly denigrates their opponents in a most insulting way, although the mythological subject matter and the emphatic immediacy of the rendering veil these insinuations somewhat. The Telephos frieze performs the same set of functions less stridently by linking Pergamon with Greece, legendary past with contemporary reality (in the form of still-active cults), and the humiliation of past enemies with continuing Pergamene resourcefulness, thus validating the kingdom's divine mission across the entire span of history.

Meanwhile, the Muses standing in the outer colonnade (Figure 60) eternally sing the praises of the victorious Olympians, who – from the roof of the inner colonnade – watch over the city's founding hero, the great piles of war spoils on the inner altar, and the pious sacrifices to themselves that are carried out upon it. Eumenes could hardly have asked for more.

5

PROWESS

The foregoing chapters have amply documented the prowess, or *aretē*, both real and contrived, of Alexander and the kings, and scrutiny of the Great Altar has reintroduced that of the gods and heroes. Our focus now turns to those heroes, to which we must add – even at the risk of some overcrowding – two more paradigms of *aretē*: athletes and (in Chapter 6) intellectuals.

As we saw in Chapter 2, anyone who achieves success thanks to his or her own abilities and divine favor, by definition possesses *aretē* and deserves the respect that goes with it. Being innate, it must be discovered within oneself and then fostered by an arduous regimen of nurture and training. As Pindar remarked:

> One born to excellence
> May be whetted and stirred
> To win huge glory
> If a god is his helper.

This is why Greek heroes such as Telephos (see Figure 62) and his father Herakles (Figure 63) are basically monoliths. Once past the perils of infancy, they could only battle their way into the privileged space that Fate and the gods allotted them. En route, they had learned how to be extraordinarily effective, using all of their faculties and mobilizing all of their powers to achieve concrete, lasting results. Yet because such high rollers often make mistakes, and the Greeks instinctively structured the world in tragic terms, their images often appear under the sign of tragedy.



63. The "Farnese" Herakles, from the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, AD 212–16. Signed by the copyist Glykon of Athens, this colossus was found in 1545 by excavators working for Alessandro Farnese (then Pope Paul III) and heavily restored after excavation. One of three replicas at this scale, of which the second, in Florence, is inscribed "Work of

(*continued*)

HEROES

The greatest hero of them all and supreme exemplar of peerless *aretē* was, of course, Herakles. Countless artworks celebrated his life and Labors, of which the most extensive and sophisticated to survive are the twelve metopes of the mid-fifth-century Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Fourth- and early third-century statues of him, most if not all of which were originally in bronze, were favorites for Roman-period copyists. They show him as young and mature, beardless and bearded, and in a variety of situations before, during, and after his Labors.

Although attributions to particular sculptors are hazardous, to say the least, apparently it was Lysippos who played the leading role in expounding his character to the Hellenistic world. No fewer than five Lysippic statues of him are recorded, plus a freestanding cycle of all Twelve Labors, in locations ranging from Macedon to Italy. The greatest and most influential of these studies was the Weary Herakles, also known as the Farnese type, from a colossal Roman copy in Naples (Figure 63).[1] Exhausted by the effort of holding up the sky for the Titan Atlas while the latter fetched the Apples of the Hesperides for him, the hero leans on his club and holds his prize – and passport to immortality – out of sight behind his back.

The type survives in countless versions that range from colossal as in Figure 63 – to only a few inches high – as in the case of a tiny vignette on some silver tetradrachms of Demetrios Poliorketes, minted in Corinth around 290. They certify the original's existence by then and perhaps also its location, and the label "Work of Lysippos" (*Lysippou ergon*) inscribed on a duplicate of the Farnese statue all but certifies him as its creator. Found on the Palatine in 1540, it now resides in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence.

This Herakles is old and tired, bereft of any tokens of his triumphs save his club and lion-skin and any symbols of his apotheosis save the Apples themselves, grasped as if forgotten behind his back and invisible to

63. (*continued*)

Lysippos," it reproduces a bronze of ca. 350–300. It was carved from a single, almost 300 cu. ft. (8 m^3) marble block weighing more than 20 tons. The other one hundred or so replicas are smaller and leaner, implying that the type existed in two or even three subsets, of which this could be the latest: a Hellenistic, post-Lysippic product. Alternatively, these smaller replicas may be handier reeditions of an original Lysippic colossus. H of statue 9 1/2 ft. (2.92 m); H with base 10 1/2 ft. (3.17 m). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

1 All else aside, it stimulated the modern cult of bodybuilding, inspiring both its founder, Eugen Sandow (1867–1925), photographed in the same pose as Herakles in 1893, and Joe Weider (1919–2013), a fitness industry tycoon and coach of the most successful bodybuilder in history, Arnold Schwarzenegger.

the casual spectator (Figure 63 inset).[2] A deeply tragic figure, unaware of his impending reward and untouched by its promise of eternal bliss among the Immortals, he stands in a posture of utter exhaustion, leaning sluggishly on his club and lion-skin and glancing down at these tokens of his toils. The mighty physique and powerful intelligence (manifest in his pensive expression) that had enabled him to weather all trials have barely mastered this one, his eleventh and penultimate. Utterly spent by his apparently pyrrhic victory, heedless (like the casual spectator) of the Apples that will be his salvation, this aging, worn-out strongman seems to have reached a total dead end.

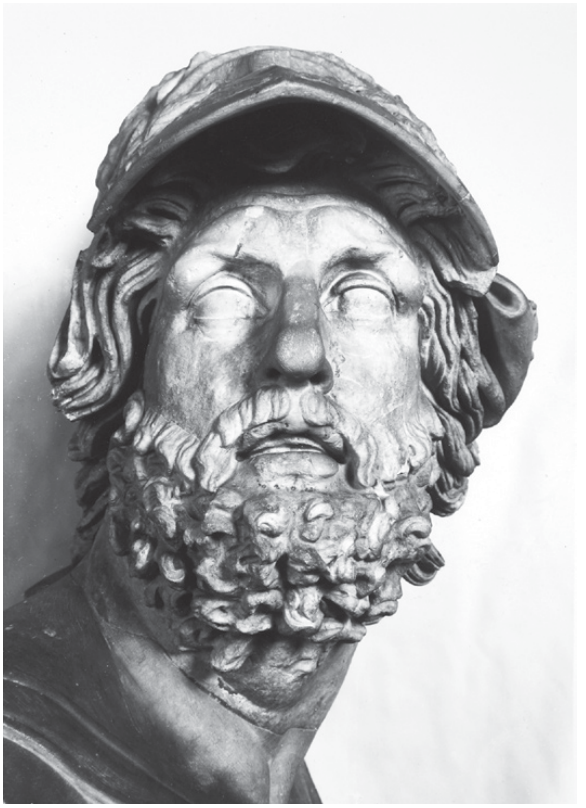
When one has absorbed all of this but decides out of curiosity to walk around the back of the statue anyway, it then pulls a classic double take, revealing the Apples and justifying the toil (*ponos*) he had expended to get them. Creating this kind of suspense – often by showing the critical moment *before* an action – was both a popular theatrical device and also had a long history in Greek art. (Its legacy is visible in the Alexander Mosaic and Boscoreale frescoes, Figures 37, 39–40.) Its appeal is precisely that we know more than the characters do, can match our knowledge against theirs, and can savor our resulting sense of superiority, even omniscience. *We* are in the know, but *they* are not.

This Herakles, then, brought together all previous notions of the hero's peerless *aretē*, his real claim to apotheosis and to eternal honor and glory: the epic, emphasizing his gigantic prowess; the tragic, stressing his unflinching endurance regardless of the circumstances; and the philosophic, celebrating his greatness of soul. Not the least of its many ironies is that (as the philosophers had already realized) with the Labors all but completed, the great body that had triumphed over all that Fate and Chance could do to it threatens to become a prison rather than an asset. The weakness of Herakles' own mortal flesh, here magnified to superhuman scale, chains him to earth and distracts both him and us from what really matters: the Apples and their promise of heaven. No wonder he became the favorite hero of the most iron-willed of Hellenistic philosophers: the Stoics.

A number of Hellenistic groups develop these themes; add others; insert the two essential tragic emotions, pity and fear; and spice them with the new, rhetorical, baroque style in order to heighten the emotion of the scene (see Box 1, p. 17: "Classicism and the Baroque"). Among those preserved in copy, justifiably the most famous is the so-called Pasquino (Figures 64–65),[3]

2 Suggestively, the late Roman orator Nikolaos of Myra, author of an extended description, or *ekphrasis*, of one of the replicas of the type (pseudo-Libanios, *Progymnasmata* 15), completely omits the Apples. Evidently he failed to check the back of the statue, perhaps because – in typically Roman fashion – the replica was displayed in a niche.

3 The name "Pasquino" derives from a battered replica still on display in one of Rome's piazzas, the Piazza del Pasquino. Its origins are obscure, although by the mid-sixteenth century, when the replica had become a billboard for political satire (it still is), the locals believed that it commemorated a nearby tailor renowned for his biting wit. Hence these satirical verses came to be called *pasquinate*, or pasquinades.



64. Head of Ajax, from a Roman copy after the "Pasquino" group. A masterpiece of the hyper-emotional baroque style and startlingly close to several heads from the Great Altar (see Figure 58a & b), it copies a bronze probably of ca. 200–150. For the group itself, known in at least fifteen Roman marble copies, see Figure 65. H 18 1/2 in. (47 cm). Vatican Museums.

known in more than a dozen marble replicas and almost certainly showing Ajax carrying the dead Achilles away from Troy. Its lost bronze original must have been a masterpiece.

The plot, which is non-Homeric, went as follows: Having killed Hektor and the Amazon queen Penthesileia, and having recovered from his unrequited passion for her, Achilles fell in love with King Priam's daughter Polyxena when they visited him to ransom Hektor's body (in the *Iliad*, Priam comes alone). He offered to stop fighting, even to negotiate peace, if only Priam would give him her hand in marriage. The old man agreed, but when Achilles came to Apollo's sanctuary outside Troy to discuss terms, Paris and Deiphobos, alerted to the meeting, treacherously murdered him. The mighty Ajax, second only to Achilles in *aretē* among the Achaians, then rescued his body with Odysseus's help. This scenario immediately explains the Pasquino's most puzzling feature: If the dead youth is truly Achilles, why is he wearing no armor? He had come to parley, not to fight.



65. The "Pasquino" group, modern composite plaster cast from several incomplete Roman copies. Formerly thought to be Menelaos carrying the dead Patroklos out of battle, now it is usually identified as Ajax and Achilles because of the dead warrior's youth and prominent chest wound. A version on a late Roman bronze plaque certainly represents Ajax and Achilles (because Odysseus follows them, as in the story of Achilles' death), and the group also appears in Roman contexts as a pendant to one showing Achilles supporting the dying Penthesileia, the Amazon queen for whom he inconveniently fell just as he killed her. It blends a pyramidal, quasi-classicizing composition that is focused on the front plane with emphatically baroque contrasts and modeling. Its original location is unknown. H 7 ft. 2 1/2 in. (2.2 m). Basel, Antikensammlung.

The group illustrates the plot's second crisis point, after Achilles' murder but with Ajax still marooned behind enemy lines and in dire peril.[4] Furthermore, like the Alexander Mosaic (see Figure 37), the Pasquino explores the consequences of a *hamartia*, or tragic mistake. Achilles' uncontrollable passion (no Greek hero could resist a hottie) has led him to make a fatal error – another classic reversal of fortune, or *peripeteia*. Only a few moments ago he was the best of the Achaeans, secretly betrothed to the prettiest girl in Troy, and the very epitome of good fortune. Now he is dead – the ultimate

4 A classic Hollywood movie gambit brilliantly exploited, for example, in *Black Hawk Down* (2002).

*mis*fortune – and his faithful comrade, Ajax, driven by his towering *aretē* and ironclad sense of duty to rescue Achilles' body, seems destined to suffer the same fate. Ajax's instinctive reaction, to look about for danger, seems so natural that it is easy to forget that this too was a convention of the Greek tragic stage. Thus, for example, Polyneikes, also isolated behind enemy lines and fearing an ambush, says:

> So I must turn my eye every way,
> Here and there, lest some treachery lurk.

Deftly exploiting this suspenseful moment of tragic climax, the Pasquino provokes us simultaneously to pity and fear. Remembering the story, we instinctively pity Achilles, now prematurely, treacherously, and needlessly bereft of his brilliant life; we feel great pity and fear for the mighty, selfless Ajax, now bereft of his dazzling young comrade and marooned behind enemy lines; and we feel considerable pity and fear for the Achaeans in general, now bereft of their greatest champion. The Hellenistic "tragic" historians and Seneca's Latin tragedies furnish ample proof that these notions flourished throughout the Hellenistic period into the Empire, embellished – like the Pasquino itself – in a highly rhetorical way.

Yet – complicating things further – we know more than Ajax does. *We know* that Troy will fall – but also that Ajax will fall, too, much sooner and more tragically: cheated out of Achilles' armor by Odysseus, and then driven mad and eventually to suicide.[5] And all the while, as good, red-blooded Greeks, we also thrill to the homoerotic charge of the young hero's beautiful, limp body cradled by the older, superbly muscled Ajax, for all the world like a "beloved" (*erōmenos*) swooning in the arms of his lover (*erastēs*).

The Laokoon (Figure 8) takes us to the morning before the sack of Troy, to Rome, to a workshop of itinerant Rhodians, and to the late first century. (Its three sculptors apparently had left Rhodes for Italy in the late 40s or 30s, seeking greener pastures after the Romans sacked their city in 43.) It, too, explores the consequences of a tragic mistake (*hamartia*) within a non-Homeric plot. Shrewdly warning the Trojans not to trust the Wooden Horse, and nearly exposing it as a Greek trick, Laokoon unwittingly has infringed on the prerogatives of the gods – always a disastrous mistake, no matter how innocent or how good an idea it seemed at the time. Zeus and Fate have decreed that Troy must fall, so Laokoon must die in a manner that spectacularly rehabilitates the Horse and ensures its success. Enter, from Poseidon's realm, the two ravening serpents, clearly heaven-sent, and for all of Laokoon's mighty strength and piercing intelligence, his fate is sealed.

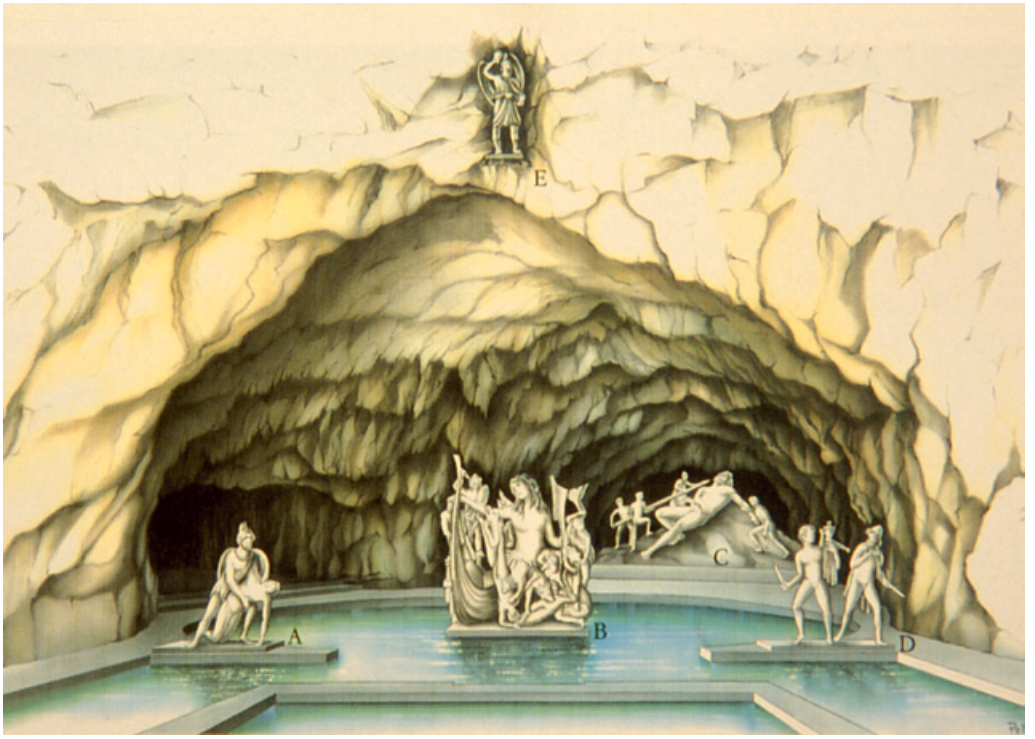
This stunning *peripeteia* again satisfies Greek tragedy's prime functions by provoking us to pity and fear, particularly because once more we are firmly in the know – unlike the original scene's hapless Trojan spectators, whom the

5 For this equally tragic sequel, see Sophokles' *Ajax*.



66. Skylla attacks Odysseus's ship in the Strait of Messina, colossal marble group from a seaside grotto at Sperlonga, 60 mi. south of Rome. Signed on the ship's outrigger by Athanodoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros of Rhodes, the sculptors of the Laokoon (Figure 8), this complex group used only two huge blocks of Anatolian marble from Dokimeion/Synnada, the largest of which (Skylla's) weighed at least 70 tons before carving. Skylla's torso, found in the nineteenth century, is now missing, as is most of Odysseus, but originally he was shown fighting her from the deck of his ship. Meanwhile, she seizes his helmsman by the hair, and the tentacles and dogs sprouting from her loins attack the rest of the crew. Rhodian inscriptions and archaeological evidence from the grotto suggest a date ca. 50–25, a period when Roman aristocrats embraced the baroque and Rhodians and others eagerly accepted such commissions; Strabo, *Geography* 12.8.14, however, shows that the Dokimeion quarries were discovered only late in this period. H ca. 12 ft. (3.7 m). Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale.

sculpture encourages us to channel. We pity Laokoon's tragic end and especially that of his innocent sons, and as good Romans descended from Aeneas and his Trojan companions, we fear for the city whose fate is now sealed along with his. Only our knowledge that a greater good will follow, that Aeneas *will* escape the disaster and that Rome *will* be founded, offers us some emotional release, or *katharsis*.



67. Reconstruction of the Sperlonga grotto ca. 50–25. Its pool is about 65 ft. (21 m) in diameter, and a dining room, or *triclinium*, adjoined by a small fish hatchery faces into it. In the foreground (A) a "Pasquino," probably repurposed as Odysseus rescuing Achilles' body, stands on the pool's incurving rim at left; opposite, (D) Odysseus fails to snatch the Palladion from Diomedes. (B) Odysseus's battle with Skylla (Figure 66) occupies its center, and in the smaller cavern at right rear, (C) he blinds Polyphemos. Above, a colored marble *akrotērion* shows (E) an eagle (Zeus) abducting Ganymede.

An even more impressive ensemble by the same trio appeared unexpectedly in September 1957 in a huge, coastal grotto near Sperlonga, 65 miles (100 kilometers) south of Rome (Figures 66–67, 168). In a mere three weeks, Enrico Bellante, a road engineer, not only found more Greek sculpture than any other twentieth-century excavator, but he conducted his dig with a thoroughness that put most professional archaeologists to shame. It was quickly realized, first, that one of these marble groups (Figure 66) was signed by the selfsame three Rhodians that created the Laokoon; second, that the grotto formed part of the amenities of a luxurious imperial villa; and third, that it was where the Emperor Tiberius, dining with friends in AD 26, had narrowly escaped death from a rock fall. (The whole coastline was studded with such villas by then, eloquent witnesses to the immense wealth that the Romans' Eastern conquests had reaped.)

When the fragments, vandalized by Christians in late antiquity, were reassembled in a gigantic, multiyear restoration project, most of them

were found to belong to four monumental groups, originally deployed in and around the grotto's central pool (Figure 67).[6] The fact that three of them clearly starred the hero Odysseus (see Figure 168) strongly suggests that the fourth, a version of the Pasquino, probably had done so, as well.

With its sculptures in place, and viewed from the dining complex that faced into it, the grotto resembled a huge proscenium arch, beyond which unfolded an elaborately landscaped marine environment worthy of Disneyland. Inside, the four groups, a virtuoso mixture of copies, versions, and elaborations of earlier Hellenistic compositions, were displayed like theatrical tableaux in locations appropriate to their subjects. Like so much high-end Hellenistic art, this display spoke both to the naïve, who would wonder at its drama and virtuosity, and to an in-group of well-educated, perceptive connoisseurs and collectors.

Each group of sculptures highlighted a particular aspect of Odysseus's protean mixture of "excellences," or *aretai* (Latin *virtutes*), as understood in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. In front, on the pool's flat, incurving rim, stood two scenes on the plain before Troy. The Pasquino, in a novel twist substituting Odysseus for Ajax, demonstrated the hero's loyalty (Latin *pietas*) toward a fallen comrade, perhaps Achilles himself; and its pendant, the theft of the Palladion, displayed his guile (*dolus*) in stealing this ancient talisman from Troy and then attempting to filch both it and the glory in turn from his accomplice, Diomedes. In the center of the pool, his desperate fight with the monstrous Skylla (Figure 66) showcased his courage (*fortitudo*); and in the smaller cave at right rear, the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemos (see Figure 168) revealed his cunning (*calliditas*). A giant moralistic marble montage, then, the ensemble owed its thematic unity not only to its omnipresent hero, but also to the diners' grasp of its somewhat academic subtext and their ability accordingly to compare and contrast the scenes with each other. (Did their host ever set them a midterm exam?)

No doubt, all of this made for excellent dinner conversation for the unknown Roman aristocrat who commissioned it, probably in the 40s or 30s BC, and especially for Tiberius, whose own complex character, homoerotic tastes, fascination with Odysseus, and passion for Hellenistic art and literature are all amply documented – with brutal animus – by Roman historians.

6 Others, some tossed into the pool along with the four groups and some found recently in the sea, included a colored marble *akrotērion* of Zeus and Ganymede that once stood above the cave's entrance; the sorceress Circe and her pigs (Odysseus's hapless crew), whose original location is a puzzle, given that little space for it remains around the pool; a chained-up Andromeda waiting for Perseus to rescue her; sundry decorative marbles; some imperial portraits; an inscribed poem by a certain Faustinus praising the ensemble and mentioning Odysseus and Scylla; and some Athenian early fifth-century red-figured vases. The villa's owner was a true art connoisseur and collector.

ATHLETES

Along with the warrior, the archaic, classical, and Hellenistic counterpart to the hero was the athlete. (In essence, Greek athletics was war pursued by other means: The word *agōn*, "contest," covered both.) The odes of Pindar and other poets for athletic victors invariably compared them to the heroes of old, fulsomely praising their "peerless" prowess and the "sky-high" honor they conferred on their respective cities.

Unlike warfare, though, success in the four "crown" festivals at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea brought only symbolic – but still hugely prestigious – rewards: immortal fame and (respectively) a simple plaited crown of olive, laurel, parsley, or celery. By around 500, however, some cities had begun to shower their "crown" victors with prizes in cash and kind. Local festivals and competitions soon began to offer similar rewards, offering the fit and strong the enticing prospect of a lucrative career on the competition circuit. (So much for the supposed "amateurism" of Greek athletics, now all but absent even from the modern Olympics.[7])

Victors also began to erect bronze statues of themselves as a part of their prize, both at the festival site and at home. These bronzes ranged from individual athletes depicted in preparation, in action, accepting their prizes, or rededicating them to the gods; to jockeys and their mounts; to full-scale chariot groups complete with drivers, grooms, and victorious owners. For safety's sake, often they were dedicated to the gods anyway, and when shown at rest, the victors often modestly bow their heads.

The huge popularity of these statues coincided with the heyday of the publicly performed victory ode and with the heroization of a few lucky victors in cult. Because these supermen often belonged to the moneyed elite, their honors did more than merely certify their claim to peerless *aretē* and the superhuman status it brought. (Indeed, the inscribed bases sometimes stress that the statues were exactly life-size.) Instead, when erected back home, they embodied a negotiation between city and victor over his acquisition and possession of special charismatic powers, of *kudos*.

This *kudos* is what we might call the victor's *mana*: the electrifying charisma and unique, talismanic power of a man blest by the immortal gods. His victory and receipt of his crown certified this *kudos*. Returning home, he might lay the crown symbolically at his city's feet, modestly dedicating it to the city's gods and thereby reintegrating himself into its society. Indeed, such heaven-sent *kudos* was so powerful that in battle the Spartans even stationed their "crown" victors next to the king himself, and other

7 The Olympic Committee eventually abandoned its ban on professionals in the 1990s, with the exception of boxing and wrestling, where it still requires amateur, rather than professional, status for the safety of the participants. Many countries now reward their successful Olympians with cash prizes: In 2012, for example, Georgia offered $1.25 million for each gold medal; the United States offered $25,000 for a gold, $15,000 for a silver, and $10,000 for a bronze medal; and Kenya offered $10,000 for a gold medal; only Britain and Argentina officially refuse to award such prizes.

cities chose them to lead the charge (thus, no doubt, ensuring a steady turnover).

By the Hellenistic period, however, times had changed. The balance between individual and collective had shifted dramatically in favor of the former; the new Eastern cities harbored no such egalitarian traditions; Greek athletics, along with its associated professional infrastructure of gymnasia, wrestling schools, stadia, and instructors, had proliferated across the Hellenistic world, from Afghanistan (Figure 20) to Italy (see Figures 72–73); and professional trainers, individually tailored training regimes, and specialized diets were now standard. A dozen or so well-preserved Hellenistic monumental bronzes offer varied glimpses of the genre during this period and display yet another innovation: specialized physiques to replace the "mean," or normative, bodies of classical athletic sculpture. These classic studies of male athleticism set a standard that has never been surpassed.

The Lysippic Getty Bronze (Figure 68) vividly illustrates the change. His olive crown and the suggestive position of his left hand identify him as an Olympic victor (the hand perhaps held the palm branch added in Alexander's day as an extra mark of *kudos*). His slender physique and powerful thighs signal a runner, and his face is clearly a heavily idealized portrait – unthinkable in classical victor statues but now quite acceptable.

In typically Lysippic fashion, he seems to sway gently before our eyes, radiating life and latent energy. And although he raises his hand to take off, or perhaps adjust, his crown – a motif invented by Polykleitos around 450, proclaiming the victor's dedication of the prize to his city and all its implications – he no longer bows his head in modesty and reverence to the gods but gazes straight ahead in undisguised pride at his achievement. An educated observer might have recognized him as "great souled" in the Aristotelian sense:

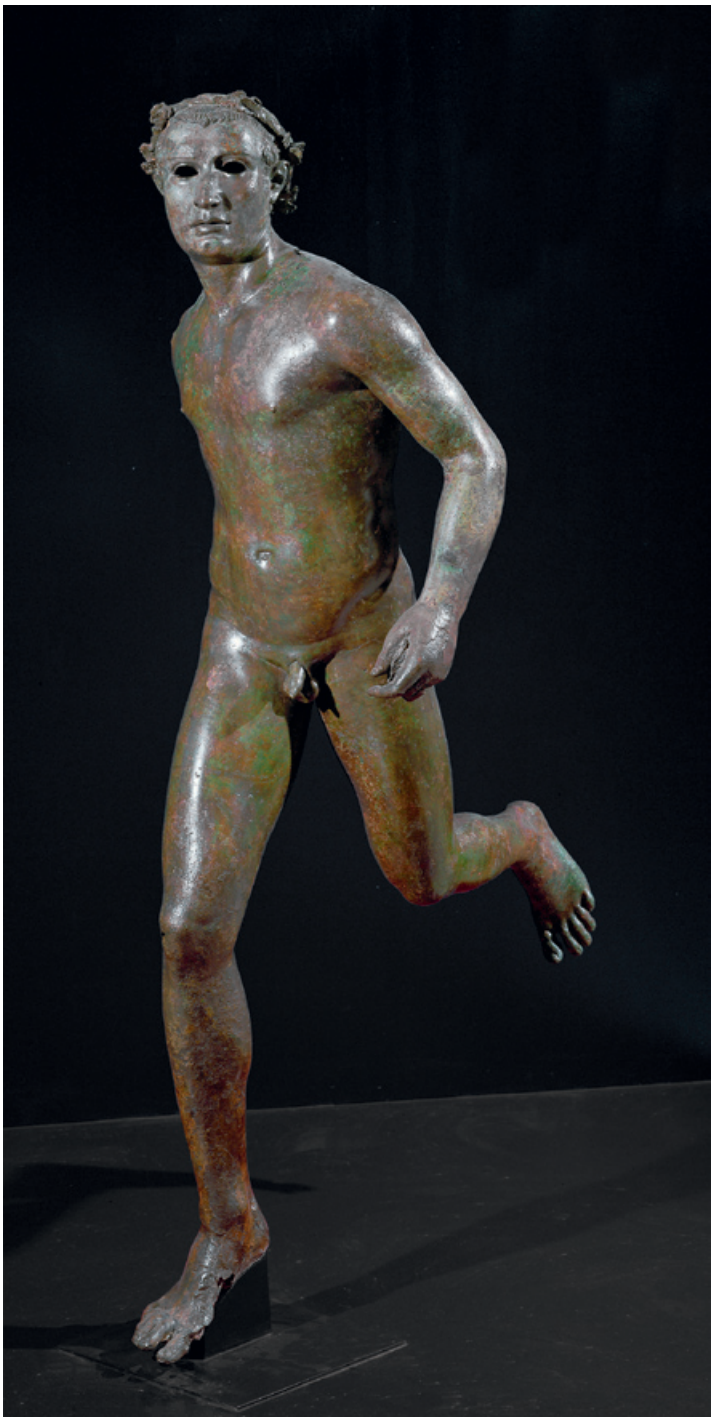
> A person is said to be great souled if he claims much and deserves much … Though in regard to the greatness of his claim the great souled man is an extreme, by reason of its rightness he stands at the mean point, for he claims only what he deserves.

The Kyme Runner, found off the Aegean coast of Anatolia Minor (Figure 69), also echoes a famous high classical statue, Myron's Ladas, which inspired numerous epigrams praising its swiftness but has not survived, even in replica. Somewhat awkwardly composed and schematically muscled, he is chiefly remarkable for his startlingly individual face: rectangular, with a long nose, wide mouth, and slightly receding chin. (Evidently portraiture, once introduced into the genre, soon permeated it.) Incongruously, he wears a victor's crown, even though he is still running.

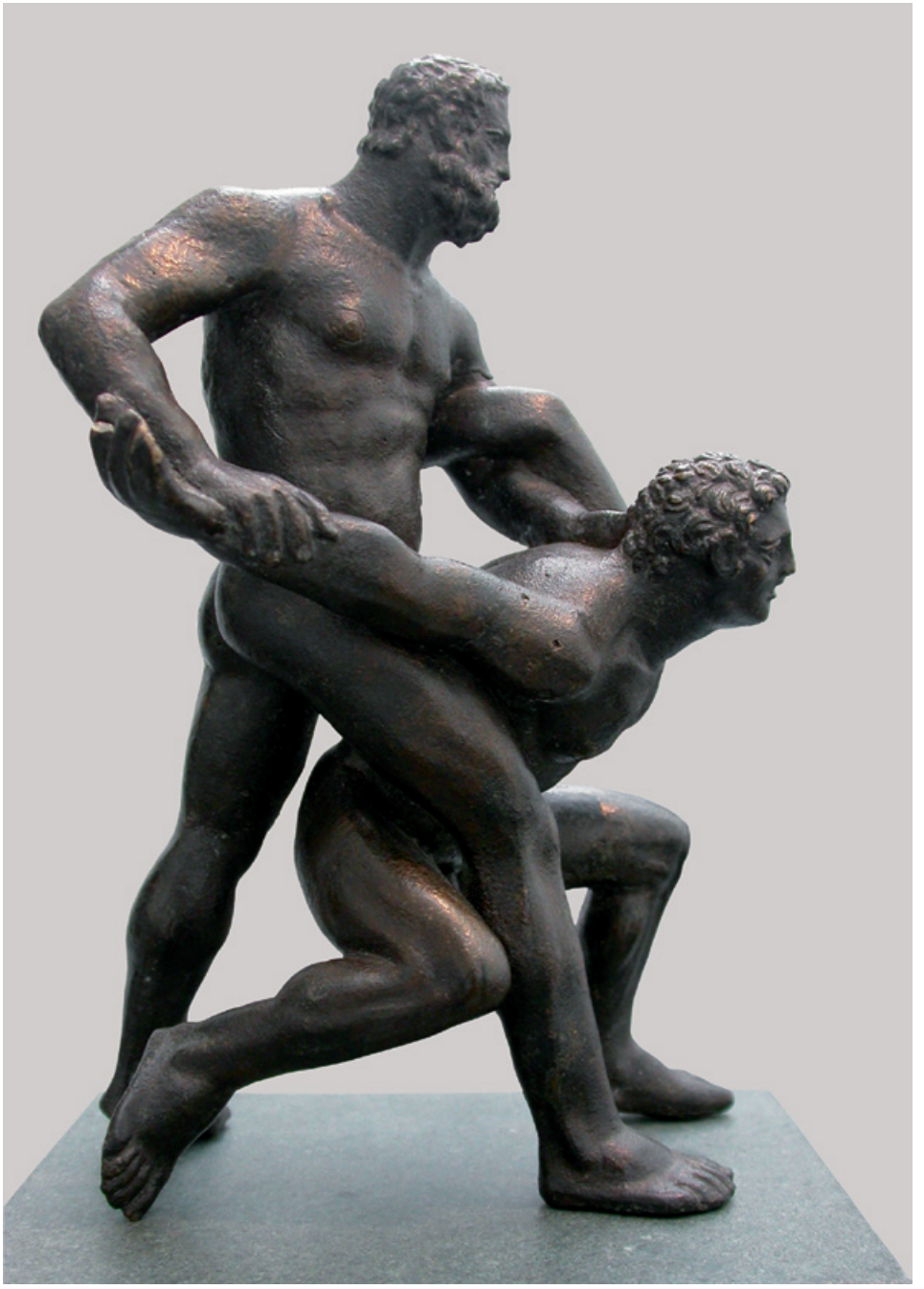
Wrestling matches particularly invited complex action figures of this kind. Numerous small bronze groups (Greek *symplēgmata*, or "entanglements," often erotic in character) clearly aimed at connoisseurs both of the sport itself and of virtuoso metalwork, deftly display the advantages of a heavy physique and the huge range of possible holds (Figure 70). Some of



68. Athlete (the "Getty Bronze"), bronze from the Adriatic Sea off Fano (Italy), ca. 300. It shows a life-size young athlete proudly adjusting his victory crown of olive leaves, which identifies him as an Olympic victor. The style matches Pliny's comment, perhaps quoting Lysippos's pupil Xenokrates, that Lysippos "represented the details of the hair, and made the heads smaller than their predecessors did and the bodies slimmer and leaner, so that his statues appear taller." In profile, the face looks mature and must be an idealized portrait; the lightly muscled torso and strong thighs suggest a runner; and the shifting stance evokes a living body on the move. The casting is technically advanced. For economy, its armature is of wood and reed, not iron, and its walls are less than 1/4 in. (5 mm) thick, half the usual. Its copper nipples are still intact, but its inlaid eyes are missing. Torn violently from its base and lacking feet, it was destined not for display in a Roman collection but for the melting pot: the Venetian Arsenal? H 4 ft. 11 in. (1.51 m). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum.



69. Runner, bronze from the Aegean Sea off Kyme (western Anatolia). The life-size statue was anchored to its base only by a dowel through the ball of its right foot: a technical feat requiring careful advance calculation of its center of gravity. Its left hand held a cylindrical object, perhaps a torch; its inlaid eyes are missing. The face's individuality and hairstyle suggest a late Hellenistic, or even early Roman, date. H 5 ft. (1.53 m). Izmir Archaeological Museum.



70. Two wrestlers, small bronze group perhaps from Egypt. Heavier, more experienced, and like a second Herakles (founder of the Olympics), the older man has pinned the younger one's right thigh between his legs and has pulled back his arms prior to throwing him and winning the match. (Although both men's feet touch the ground, only the older one's are firmly poised.) Perhaps made in the second century, the group was composed and cast in one piece, involving a complex calculation of the disposition of limbs and bodies, considerable anatomical expertise, and rapid pouring of the molten metal so that it reached every corner of the mold before it hardened. H 6 1/2 in. (16.5 cm). Munich, Antikensammlung.

them show the victor diademed, and one even wears a pharaonic headdress. Often found in Egypt, they indicate that the Ptolemies shamelessly exploited the genre for monuments celebrating military victories, probably (for local audiences) conflating them with the primordial victory of the Egyptian god Horus over the evil Seth. The Pasquino (Figure 65) surely also drew on them, or they on it.

Unfortunately, no large-scale, bronze *symplēgmata* survive and, given their complexity, marble copies are understandably rare. Chief among them is a famous but heavily restored *symplēgma* in the Uffizi, showing two wrestlers in a position known in modern free-style wrestling as a "cross-body ride."

As for equestrian events, the most prestigious was still the chariot race, but this has left no monumental traces whatsoever, other than the occasional denuded stone base littered with hoofprints and wheel-marks. Horse racing almost equaled this sport in popularity, though, and here the famous horse and jockey from a first-century wreck off Cape Artemision in Greece (Figure 71) reigns undisputed.

The group is best seen from the side: the standpoint of a spectator at the finish line. A host of lunging diagonals sets the mood. The horse leaps forward in the "flying gallop" pose that was popular from the seventh century BC through the late nineteenth century AD, when Eadweard Muybridge's pioneering stop-action photographs showed it to be a fiction. The little jockey's limbs stab outward, in pinwheel fashion, while the folds of his skimpy tunic both unify his pose and strengthen its dynamic thrust. His physiognomy is African, his hair Greek; probably he was a hired professional, like the charioteers. A victory epigram from around 270 by Poseidippos, published only at the turn of the millennium, comes to mind:

> Admire the mettle of this colt, how he pants
> From nose to tail, flanks strained to the limit
> As when he ran at Nemea. To Molykos he brought the crown
> Of celery, winning by a final thrust of his head.

The acknowledged tour de force of Hellenistic athletic sculpture is, however, the Terme Boxer (Figures 72–73). Clearly a veteran of the arena caught between bouts – ancient boxing contests proceeded by elimination until only one man remained standing – he sits stolidly awaiting his next opponent. His nose is thick and broken, his ears cauliflowered, and both bruises and bloody gashes (inlaid in blackish bronze and copper, respectively) mar his face, the brutal products of hard leather straps like those wrapped about his own hands. Even so, we know what he cannot know – that he will win in the end – because the statue itself proves it.

Although the blood has dripped onto his shoulders and arms, his massive body and powerful legs are unblemished: The rules allowed only punches to the head. Moreover, at first sight his face looks somewhat individual, but under the scars, blood, and bruises, it is still quite formalized, with the beard and hair arranged mostly in symmetrical, ornamental curls. This feature, together with the substantial wear on the left hand and projecting right foot



71. Life-size horse and jockey, bronze from a first-century wreck off Cape Artemision (Greece), ca. 150–100. Found in 1928–36 along with a spectacular fifth-century bronze Zeus (often misidentified as Poseidon), the horse's fore and hind parts do not join (the middle of its body is restored) but surely belong together, and the jockey, found with the former, surely goes with them. Their walls are an astonishing 1/10 in. (2–3 mm) thick: half those of the Getty Bronze, but typical of the period. The horse's hooves and perhaps the jockey's skin were patinated black, and the rest possibly was gilded. Their missing eyes were inlaid and their teeth were added in copper. A brand on the horse's right haunch of a Nike holding a wreath probably was inlaid in copper, silver, or gold. The horse wore an elaborate bridle, perhaps of silver, and bronze reins; the jockey brandished a bronze riding crop in his right hand. H of jockey 33 1/8 in. (84 cm); restored L of horse without modern tail 8 ft. 2 3/8 in. (2.5 m). Athens, National Museum.

from repeated touching, has suggested that he is a mythical hero or long-dead champion who became – because of his surpassing *aretē* – a talisman for recovery from accident or illness. Such statues often were thought to have magical healing powers – as, however, were those of some contemporaries, for the same reason.

Probably, then, this is simply a statue of some Olympic or other "crown" laureate, largely but not entirely cast in the no-nonsense, realistic mode of



72. Life-size, seated boxer, bronze from the basement of an ancient building on the Quirinal Hill in Rome, found with the so-called Hellenistic Ruler (Figure 144) and probably hidden there in late antiquity. Unlike the Kyme runner (Figure 70), he wears no wreath and must be resting between bouts. The bloody gashes that scar his face are inlaid in copper, as (once) were his lips; his eyes, too, were inlaid in glass and/or stone. Recent research has detected a patch of darker bronze under his right eye that must represent a bruise. His rocky seat is restored (when found, he was sitting on a column capital). His date is problematic: early or late Hellenistic? H 4 ft. 2 3/8 in. (1.28 m). Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo).



73. Head of the boxer from Figure 72. Scarred from many bouts and still bleeding and bruised from his latest one, he looks around in anticipation of the next. Has his opponent appeared in the ring? Has the referee just summoned him to fight? Or is he silently seeking divine favor and the victory that *we* know will ensue (hence the statue), but for which he can only hope? Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo).

the Hellenistic period, when the protocols of the classical city were fading swiftly into obsolescence. Its message, like that of the Farnese Herakles (Figure 63), is clear: In this particular sport, *aretē* equals prowess plus bulk plus endurance.

6

WISDOM

Like all traditional societies, the Greeks greatly prized wisdom (*sophia*). Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon, and their cohorts had needed wise (and garrulous) old Nestor to steer them through the long siege of Troy, and always came to regret it when they ignored him. Yet it took the wisdom of a poet to immortalize their deeds as a lesson for the ages. Without Homer (see Figures 74–75), they were all destined for oblivion.

By the Hellenistic period, the increasing complexity of Greek society had greatly expanded the roster of the wise. It now included philosophers, wellsprings of wisdom on everything from cosmology to ethics to kingship theory; politicians and orators, farsighted counselors to the city; historians, discerning analysts of events past and present; doctors, expert decoders of the mysteries of the body; and even a sculptor, Pheidias, peerless interpreter of the majesty of the gods (see Figure 167).

All these "worthies" (as the eighteenth century would later call them) could be rewarded with honorary portraits for their services, specially commissioned by their pupils, followers, clients, cities, and even by the kings. Usually they were of bronze, but very occasionally (especially if the honoree was actually given cult for some divine spark that presumably inspired him) of marble. Such portraits both memorialized these individuals as civic benefactors and literally put them on a pedestal as shining examples of the particular brand of wisdom that they personified.

These portraits give the impression of an ostensibly levelheaded realism, but in fact they cluster into types just as easily as do the kings, heroes, and athletes. This *typological realism*, aimed squarely at us and seeking to convince us by its ostensible truthfulness, is the early Hellenistic poet Poseidippos's "straight canon of truth" (see Chapter 2, the next section, and Figure 10), enlivened on occasion by touches of the heroic if the subject's achievements,



74. Homer, Roman marble copy of a bronze original of ca. 150–100. The poet's flesh almost dissolves off his bones, while his narrowed eyes stare sightlessly from deep sockets capped by wide, high-swinging brows. His mouth opens slightly, as if to recite, and a breeze from his (well-omened) right side blows his beard into great tufts: the breath of the Muses? Heavy locks frame his face, and at the back, his hair is rolled up into the fillet: archaizing touches that give this imaginary portrait an air of period authenticity. H 16 1/8 in. (42.1 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

reputation, and status merited them. In short, their personhood is as strongly constructed socially as those of the kings, heroes, and athletes.

POETS

Inspired by Apollo and the Muses to "tell the truth" and sustained by Memory (the Muses' mother), poets were traditional repositories of knowledge and wisdom, judges of value, and arbiters of praise or blame for deeds good or bad. Cities had rewarded outstanding ones with honorary and tomb statues from at least the fifth century. Soon conventionalized, they stand as if performing or sit as if composing and usually wear only a simple *himation*. Always bearded, their faces are mature or aged, lined with concentration, and capped by an unruly mop of longish hair. By around 300, the seated format



75. Apotheosis of Homer and the Mountain of the Muses, inscribed marble relief from Bovillae (Italy), signed by Archelaos of Priene, ca. 200–150, perhaps after a painting in the poet's shrine, the Homereion, at Alexandria. Time and the World crown Homer; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* kneel beside him; Myth and History sacrifice to him; and personifications of the literary genres that he inspired (Poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy) and his work's

largely had won out, and new styles offered a correspondingly wide range of options.

Poseidippos's aforementioned early third-century epigram (Figure 10), praising a statue of the contemporary poet Philitas of Kos dedicated by his patron, Ptolemy II Philadelphos (reigned 283–246), marks one end of the scale:

> This bronze, just like Philitas in every way, Hekataios
> Molded accurately down to the toenails.
> Following a human standard in scale and feature,
> He blended it with none of the form of the heroes,
> But modeled the old perfectionist with all his skill,
> Holding fast to the straight canon of truth.
> He seems about to speak, so characterful is he;
> The old man's alive, even though he's bronze.
> And here, thanks to Ptolemy, at once god and king as well,
> This man of Kos is dedicated for the Muses' sake.

All but forgotten today and his poetry reduced to mere scraps, Philitas was nevertheless a key player in the formation of a specifically Alexandrian literary aesthetic. This epigram uses Hekataios's now-lost bronze to promote, simultaneously, a new kind of realistic sculptural canon, or rule – the "straight canon of truth" – to rival the categorically ideal canon of the fifth-century Old Master Polykleitos; to create a threefold hierarchy of portrait modes – realistic, heroic, and godlike – to match, respectively, Philitas (Figure 76), Alexander (Figures 4, 22), and Ptolemy himself (Figure 31); and covertly to push Poseidippos's own particular poetic agenda as Philitas's loyal follower.

Yet despite all this, the only known copy of this portrait (Figure 76) is curiously generic, resembling the Epicureans (see Figures 78, 80, 82) and Demosthenes (see Figure 85) in many key respects. Is this because its carver had shrunk it and simplified it somewhat; because the Hellenistic world actually perceived this style as strongly realistic; or because Poseidippos was exaggerating for effect? The jury is still out.

A contemporary of Philitas, the comic poet Menander was honored by the Athenian state after his death in 292, at the age of fifty-two, with a novel type of portrait (Figure 77). Created by Kephisodotos and Timarchos, sons of the great fourth-century sculptor Praxiteles, and set on a high base in the eastern side aisle of the Theater of Dionysos, it joined the great fifth-century tragedians Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, and the comic poet Aristophanes,

75. (*continued*)

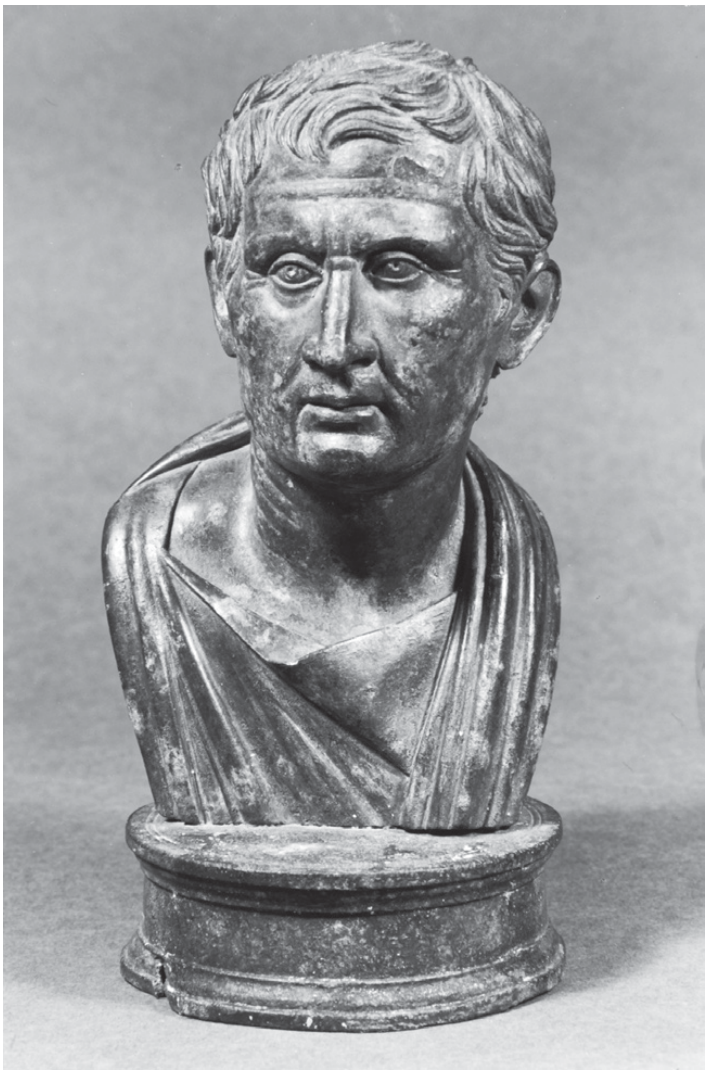
core ingredients (Human Nature, Virtue, Mindfulness, Trustworthiness, and Wisdom) acclaim him. Time and the World, diademed, are identifiable as Ptolemy IV Philopator (reigned 221–205) and Arsinoe III, who founded the Homereion. In the upper part, the nine Muses, Memory (their mother), and Zeus (at top), are joined by Apollo (at center, holding his *kithara*) and a poet standing before a victory tripod (at right). H 3 ft. 10 1/2 in. (1.18 m). London, British Museum.



76. Philitas of Kos, small marble bust from Crest (southern France) presumably after the portrait by Hekataios celebrated by Poseidippos (see p. 136). Found in 1770, this inscribed Roman bust was rediscovered only in 2008 through a brilliant piece of detective work by the French scholar Évélyne Prioux in a private collection in Lyons, where it had sat unnoticed for more than a century. A Roman villa and two similar busts found nearby, one labeled as the Greek poet Ibykos, suggest that all three portraits once graced the library of a Gallo-Roman notable. Despite Poseidippos's description, the Philitas differs little from other early Hellenistic portraits of intellectuals (see Figures 78, 80, 82, 85). He died in the 270s, and Poseidippos's description of Ptolemy (II) as king and god dates both poem and portrait after 272. Ptolemy commissioned the latter probably upon the old poet's death. H 13 in. (33 cm). Lyons, private collection.

all honored in the same manner around 330. More than seventy copies of the Menander attest that in popularity it matched his plays: romantic comedies soon adapted for the Roman stage by Plautus and Terence, and the ancestors of the modern sitcom.

Seated on a high-backed chair furnished with a cushion and footstool, dressed in stylish shoes, chiton, and himation, clean-shaven and sporting a casually elegant hairdo, Menander (a notorious dandy) led a lifestyle that was anathema to die-hard Athenian democrats. Predictably, he received this honor probably not during one of the restorations of the democracy but when the city was controlled by Demetrios the Besieger (Figures 28–29), himself



77. Menander, small bronze bust after a bronze of ca. 290 by Praxiteles' sons, Kephisodotos and Timarchos; made probably for a Roman library. Pausanias notes such a portrait in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens, but says nothing about its author(s) or dedicator; a base found there, inscribed with the poet's name and preserving a rectangular socket for a seated statue, confirms this and adds the sculptors' signatures. This type, long anonymous but known in many copies, was soon connected with this monument, but many preferred to identify it as Vergil. The discovery by Bernard Ashmole in 1972 of Menander's name faintly inscribed on this bust's base settled the issue. In the late 1980s, Klaus Fittschen used the drapery preserved on this and other replicas to identify copies of its body. H 6 3/4 in. (17 cm). Malibu, Getty Villa.

no stranger to personal extravagance and fine living. Just as Menander's plays spearheaded a new style of comedy – witty, cleverly plotted, streetwise, and romantic – so, too, did his portrait announce a new style of poet: the droll, sharp-eyed social commentator.

A second-century head of Homer in high baroque style, known in many copies (Figure 74), occupies the other end of the scale. Its fluid modeling anticipates the Laokoon (Figure 8), intensifying the rhetoric of aging flesh versus dazzling intellect earlier essayed (if one believes Poseidippos) in the Philitas (Figure 76). Possessed by an intense inner vision, inspired by the daughters of Memory, and uttering the very founding classics of Greek literature, it is both haunting and powerful, a poignant study (to quote a brilliant twentieth-century description) of "the fight between crumbling age and the inner fire."

Although no copies of this statue's body have been identified, the enthroned Homer on the remarkable Archelaos relief (Figure 75) may give some idea of it. Signed by a sculptor from Priene and depicting a cult scene from the Alexandrian Homereion, it juxtaposes a sacrifice starring the poet, composed like a standard Greek votive relief, with a picturesque mountain of the Muses above. The sacrifice, richly inscribed, celebrates Homer's deification by Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt (reigned 221–205) and his sister-wife, Arsinoe III.

Enthroned in a colonnaded sanctuary screened by a curtain, Homer holds both a scepter and a scroll: a Zeus among poets. Time and the World (the thinly disguised and diademed royal couple) crown him; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* kneel beside him; mice nibble on a scroll at his feet (an allusion to a mock epic, *The Battle of Frogs and Mice*, ascribed to him, but also to his works' likely fate without Alexandria's great library); and personifications of the literary genres that these works inspired and the virtues they instill, Wisdom (*Sophia*) included, sacrifice and pay homage to him. The sequence of the personified literary genres (Poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy, in that order) echoes that of Aristotle's *Poetics*. (Demetrios of Phaleron, Aristotle's pupil and tyrant of Athens from 317, became the Library's first head after his ouster in 307.) A panegyric to traditional Greek humanistic education, this scene complements the actual setup in Ptolemy IV's Homereion, where the poet, also enthroned, was surrounded by all the cities that claimed him as a native son.

The relief's upper part quotes a popular Hellenistic group of the nine Muses, adding Zeus and their mother, Memory, at the top, Apollo at center, and a poet standing before a victory tripod at far right. The relief's overall composition thus echoes the structure of Alexandrian academe. It announces that the Mouseion (the famous "Birdcage of the Muses" and the world's first research center) sits upon the firm foundation of the Library, whose holdings, in turn, rest on Homer's epics.

Keen to deflate all this, one Alexandrian wit promptly painted a picture showing Homer throwing up and these cities' poets gulping down his vomit. Moving right along:

PHILOSOPHERS

Philosophers (Figure 78) were this world's other self-appointed guardians of civilized values and morality. Yet four of the great philosophical schools – the Academics (Platonists), Peripatetics (Aristotelians), Stoics, and



78. The philosophers Sokrates (469–399), Antisthenes the Cynic (445–365), Chrysippos the Stoic (280–204), and Epikouros (341–270), four Roman marble heads copying bronzes of the fourth and third centuries BC. The Sokrates is unprovenanced, but the Antisthenes and Epikouros, both made for insertion into herm shafts, were found together on the Via Appia, south of Rome, and presumably come from some villa's portrait gallery. Chrysippos's drapery enabled the identification of the body type illustrated in Figure 84. The originals of the Antisthenes and Chrysipppos were by the Athenians Phyromachos and (probably) Euboulides, respectively, both active ca. 200. H of Sokrates 12 3/4 in. (32.4). London, British Museum.

Epicureans – offered much more: comprehensive, mutually exclusive, and thus competing, systems of cosmology and physics to support their ideas. (As their names imply, the other two schools – the Cynics and Skeptics – seldom moved beyond a purely negative critique.) Some even advised the kings, either personally by invitation or from afar through letters and tracts on kingship.

All these schools were based in Athens, where the Academics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans occupied custom-built institutes outside its walls, containing libraries, hostels, and the all-important gardens, courtyards, and colonnades where their members could talk, learn, research, and write. As for their portraits, although the kings and cities sometimes honored the heads of the schools in this way, their followers commissioned most of them after their leaders died, for display and instruction within the schools themselves.

As a result, whereas earlier sculptors had represented Sokrates (d. 399; Figure 78 left) standing, as befitted a man of the street and the Agora, where he would waylay his hapless victims ("Tell me, my friend: What is Justice?"), his Hellenistic successors usually sit, like professors giving a seminar. Their bodies speak volumes. Aging, gaunt, and wearing only a simple, often coarse cloak, they sit wrapped in thought (Figure 79) or gesture toward us, their audience (Figure 80). Their brows are creased in deep concentration, just like Sokrates' (Figure 78 left).

Unfortunately, of this formidable array, only a single life-size original survives, in sadly fragmentary condition (see Figure 81), and full-length Roman marbles are rare. Roman busts and herms of these philosophers (Figure 78), however, are plentiful, since every self-respecting Roman aristocrat had a collection of them on display in his library and/or garden. Many (like Figure 79) remain anonymous, but some (see Figure 83) are inscribed, enabling the identification of several impressive series of copies; others can be identified by comparison with inscribed portraits on coins, gems, tokens, and mosaics.

The Epicureans and Stoics soon far outshone the rest and produced the most influential images of their leaders. Each school saw its own philosophy as the only true way of life, aiming to develop expertise about what is beneficial, and then to put it into practice. Know this, and know yourself, and you will know the nature of value, which in turn will utterly transform you. Ironically it was this emphasis on personal salvation that led to their eventual eclipse by Christianity, whose doctrines were less abstruse, more powerful, and soon far more widely appealing.

Epikouros (341–270; Figures 78 far right, 80, 82), an Athenian and thus a rarity among the great philosophers, was plagued by various lifelong ailments that left him in constant pain and partially explain his philosophy. A radical materialist, he adopted the physics of the fifth-century atomist Demokritos. According to this view, atoms were the basis of all phenomena, the soul and the gods included, and also of all sensations (sight, taste, smell, hearing, thought, pleasure, pain, and so on), as they streamed off objects and literally impressed themselves upon one's eyes, mouth, nose, ears, and mind.

To an Epicurean, death was final, dissolving both body and soul; an afterlife (good or bad) was impossible; and the sage should fear neither. As for life, because the mind's function is to maximize pleasure and minimize pain, one should strive for a state of tranquility (*ataraxia*) that banishes fear, pain, and cravings of all kinds, cultivating peace of mind through a life of responsible, even ascetic, hedonism.[1] Since the gods live in this blissfully perfect state, by definition, they must be totally neutral: neither to be feared nor worshiped, but only envied and emulated. As the Epicurean *tetrapharmakos*, or "four part cure," put it:

> Don't fear god.
> Don't worry about death.
> What is good is easy to get; and
> What is terrible is easy to endure.

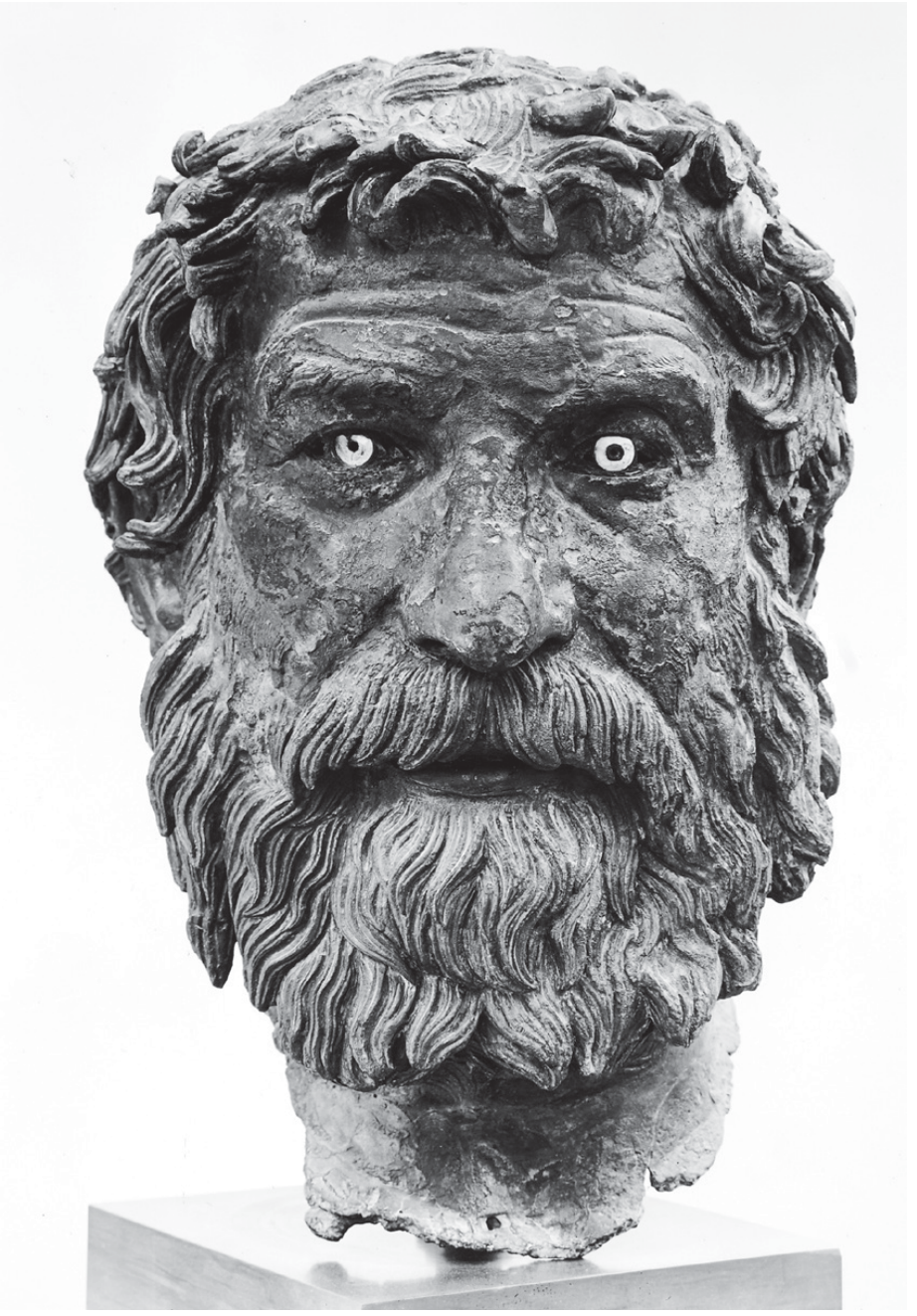
1 When I moved to Berkeley in 1979, someone had posted fliers saying "CULTIVATE ATARAXIA!!" on many downtown lampposts. I immediately felt at home.



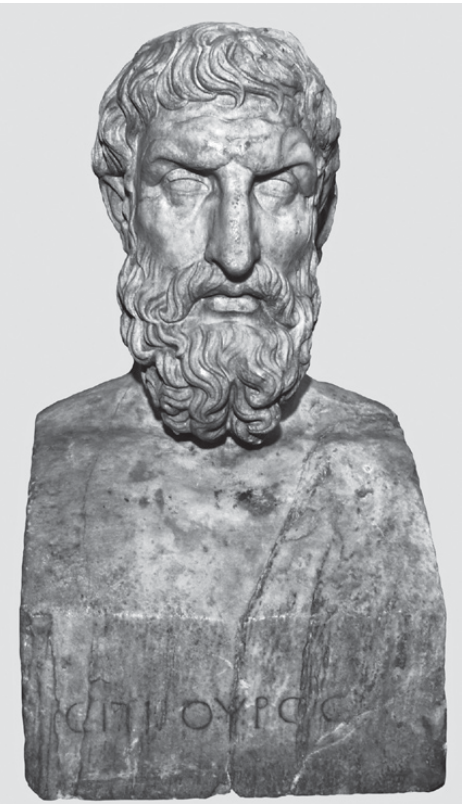
79. Statuette of a seated philosopher, bronze from Brindisi (Italy). This fine, hollow-cast Roman version of a mid-third-century philosopher portrait is unidentified. One of several small-scale replicas of the same Greek original, it shows the sage wrestling with a problem. Wrapped in thought and tense with concentration, he knits his brow, purses his lips, clenches one fist against his head and the other in his cloak, lets the latter slip from his shoulder, and crosses his feet (neither is relaxed or flat on the floor). H 20 in. (50.8 cm). London, British Museum.



80. Digital reconstruction by Matt Brennan and Bernard Frischer (2013) of the bronze portrait of Epikouros (341–270), ca. 270. The sage, gesturing toward us – his followers and potential converts – sits on a lion-footed throne (gilded in this reconstruction) on a marble base; the inlaid eyes greatly intensify the expression.



81. Head of a philosopher, bronze from an early first-century wreck off Antikythera (southern Greece), ca. 250–200; found with many bronzes and marbles, perhaps on their way to Italy. Other fragments show that he wore sandals and a coarse himation, was standing, and held a staff vertically in his right hand. Because the portrait's original location is unknown and it disappeared too early to be copied or discussed in Roman times, it remains anonymous. The standing pose effectively rules out an "institutional" philosopher – Academic (Platonist), Peripatetic (Aristotelian), Epicurean, or Stoic – and, along with the disheveled hair and generally unkempt look (somewhat exaggerated by the damage), suggests a Cynic or a Skeptic. H 11 1/2 in. (29 cm). Athens, National Museum.



82. Epikouros, side A of an inscribed marble double herm from Rome. Side B, also inscribed, portrays his friend and pupil Metrodoros (d. 277). Copied from the bronze statue of ca. 270 reconstructed in Figure 80. His head, with its massive skull, thick hair, large features, and full beard, clearly recalls that of Herakles (Figure 63). Even though his brow is lined, his face shows no signs of strain. This is a Homeric "god who lives at ease," at peace with himself and the world. H 23 5/8 in. (60 cm). Rome, Capitoline Museum.

Because such tranquility could be attained only by withdrawal, Epikouros bought a property outside Athens that he named "The Garden." Living there with his followers in a kind of commune, he promoted friendship as the highest good, and welcomed both women and slaves into his flock on an equal basis with men.

The portraits of the three great early Hellenistic Epicureans – the master himself (Figures 78 far right, 80, 82), his friend Metrodoros (d. 277), and his successor, Hermarchos (d. 250) – are all preserved, bodies included, in multiple copies. Since they urged withdrawal from the world, their portraits cannot have been erected in their honor by the Athenian state, but probably stood in the Garden to inspire their followers. There (they would have believed) the atoms streaming off them would have impacted the minds of members and potential converts alike, literally altering their atomic state in favor of the ideals and doctrines they embodied.

All three men sit calmly in classically balanced poses derived, ultimately, from Athenian fourth-century gravestones, and all are well attired

and well groomed. This speaks volumes. Epicureanism set great store not only by the bonds of friendship and the sense of community it fostered, but also by the civilized virtues of good manners, personal hygiene, and a tidy appearance. Although highly appealing, all of this was also deeply conventional, a Hellenistic version of the ethos of the democratic, self-controlled, modest, fair-minded, and just "Athenian gentleman" in a world sprinting fast in the opposite direction. Hence the reference to the bygone genre of the gravestones, abruptly terminated in 317 by the Macedonian puppet ruler, Demetrios of Phaleron, who had banned them as a needless extravagance.

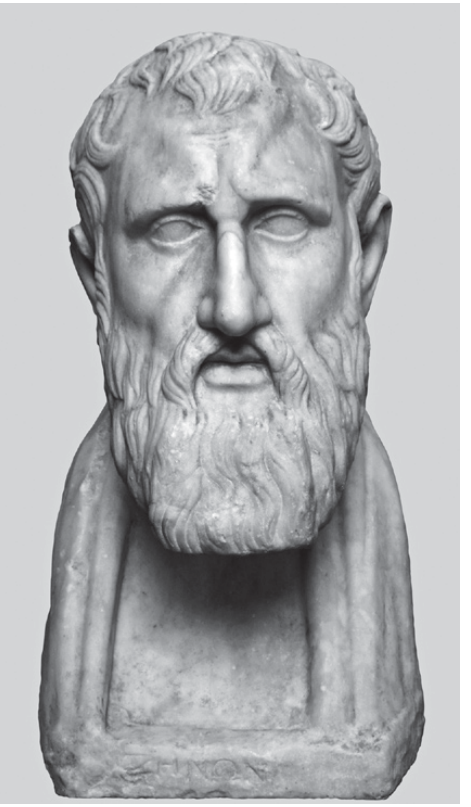
But there is more. Epikouros sits on a high-backed throne, an honor normally reserved for high officials, kings, and gods. He is a Zeus among philosophers, his massive head, thick "leonine" hair, large features, and full beard clearly recalling Herakles' (Figure 63). Although his brow is lined, his face shows no signs of strain. To quote a Homeric aphorism, he is a "god who lives at ease" – totally at peace with himself and the world. Metrodoros, sitting on a more modest chair, is sartorially, physically, and facially indistinguishable from a thousand Athenians on the gravestones, and impassive to the point of blandness – the quintessence of both Athenian breeding and Epicurean *ataraxia*. Finally, Hermarchos sits on a simple stone block. His features echo Epikouros's, but his pose is more active – a down-to-earth teacher who must work hard to convince.

As for the Stoics, their founder, Zeno of Kition in Cyprus (334–262; Figure 83), was also in poor physical shape. (Apparently it went with the job.) A radical determinist who refused to create a brick-and-mortar school, he preferred to teach openly and informally in the great Painted Stoa, or Stoa Poikile, in the Athenian Agora. In this way, he succeeded in making his "philosophy of the Stoa" far more relevant and popular than its cloistered rivals could ever be. Sustained by a materialist physics and a universalist theology that saw God as immanent in everything in the cosmos, and directing its development down to the smallest detail, Zeno strove to "live in agreement with nature." He identified moral virtue with knowledge of nature and its laws, and thus with the perfection of one's reason.

True Stoics, then, should be paragons of reason: self-sufficient, detached, indifferent to calamity, and impervious to passions such as lust and fear, those "excessive impulses that are disobedient to reason" and threaten the happiness it brings. They should be truly stoic, in the modern sense of the word, but also engaged, both "living in agreement with nature" and aiding others to do the same.

Zeno's converts ranged from the Macedonian King Antigonos Gonatas to numerous Athenians, to judge from their decree of 262 – prompted by Gonatas – authorizing a golden crown and a publicly funded tomb for him:

> Whereas Zeno of Kition, son of Mnaseas, has for many years been devoted to philosophy in the city and has continued to be a man of worth in all other respects, exhorting to virtue and temperance those of the youth who came to him to be taught, directing them to what is best, affording to all in his own conduct a pattern for imitation in perfect consistency with his teaching . . .



83. Zeno of Kition (332–262), the founder of Stoicism; inscribed Roman marble bust after a bronze statue of ca. 260, probably erected in his honor by the Athenians. The austere, rectangular skull, spare modeling, and unsmiling mouth emphasize his self-discipline and asceticism, and deftly channel our attention to his piercing, hooded eyes, incurving eyebrows, and sharply contracted brow. In profile, his beard and nose jut out sharply. H 17 1/3 in. (44 cm). Naples, Museo Nazionale.

Copies of this decree were to be set up in the city's main gymnasia, Plato's Academy, and Aristotle's Lyceum, no doubt much to the annoyance of those rival schools. The Athenians also honored Zeno with a bronze statue, probably the one that generated the dozen or so copies – all heads – that still exist (Figure 83).[2]

By all accounts, Zeno was the very image of the ascetic philosopher – so gaunt and haggard that Athenian comics, always eager to lampoon an egghead, called him a "weedy Egyptian vine"; others parodied his habitual seriousness, severity, and perpetually furrowed brow. His portrait shows an austere, wise, and powerful thinker who literally sees the truth through the veil of appearances and unflinchingly follows it to the bitter end. As the Athenian decree noted, he both lives and preaches his philosophy. Moreover, unlike Sokrates (Figure 78), who had been executed for corrupting the city's

2 As a resident alien, or *metic*, Zeno would not have been subject to Demetrios of Phaleron's ban on tomb sculpture, mentioned earlier in this section.



84. The Stoic Chrysippos of Soloi (280–204). This reconstruction, by the nineteenth-century German scholar Arthur Milchhöfer, blends a body in the Louvre with a head in the British Museum (Figure 78 second from right). The identical drapery folds around their necks clinch the connection, and other inscribed copies of the head clinch the identification. Moreover, several ancient writers mention a statue or statues of Chrysippos in Athens, sitting with hand extended and checking off arguments on his fingers. Because Pliny attributes a celebrated bronze of a man "counting on his fingers" to the Athenian sculptor Euboulides, active ca. 200, it is tempting (with Milchhöfer) to put two and two together and propose that the composite statue of Figure 84 probably reproduces this very bronze, commissioned presumably soon after the philosopher's death in 204. H 3 ft. 11 1/4 in. (1.2 m). Paris, Louvre (body) and London, British Museum (head).

youth (a move that the Athenians soon came to regret), he had consistently guided them in the right direction, and thus deserved immortality as a benefactor par excellence.

Portraits of his successor, the extraordinarily long-lived Kleanthes of Assos (330–232), have yet to be identified. A former boxer, he suffered from a learning disability (perhaps from repeated concussions) that he labored mightily to overcome, earning him the nickname of "Second Herakles" (the Stoics' favorite hero). Was his portrait perhaps a philosophical version of the Terme Boxer (Figures 72–73)? The school's third leader, however, Chrysippos of Soloi (280–204; Figures 78 second from right, and 84), returns to the norm. A tower of wisdom in a wasted body, balding, with a scrappy beard, wrapping his coarse cloak about him against the cold (stoas were drafty), and

seated on a rude stone block, he gestures sharply toward us, challenging us to think and to argue. A renowned teacher and razor-sharp interlocutor, "the knife that cuts the Academics' knots," like Zeno he, too, was given a public funeral and no fewer than three honorary statues in Athens, one of which bore this snappy epitaph.

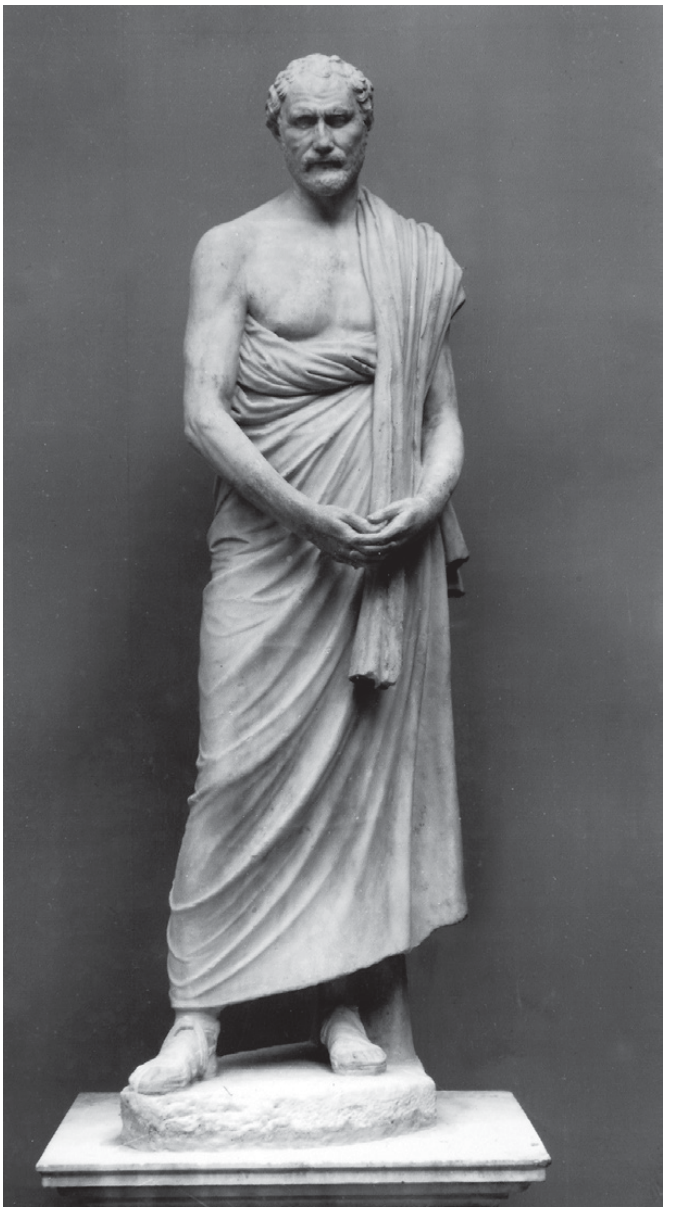
POLITICIANS AND ORATORS

Literally thousands of inscriptions (decrees and inscribed statue bases) show that the cities of Hellenistic Greece and Anatolia Minor regularly honored their politicians with portraits. As we saw in Chapter 4, after slow beginnings around 400, the practice soon proliferated and "went viral" in Alexander's reign and later. All these bronzes have fallen casualty to time, and none of the scraps that survive can be matched with the numerous extant bases. Moreover, compared with the poets, philosophers, historians, and doctors, very few were copied in the Roman period, and these were selected only because of their sitters' reputations as statesmen and prose stylists. (The Roman elite wanted Greek culture heroes for their villas, not Greek politicians per se.) Yet even in this denuded terrain, occasional landmarks still appear from time to time, offering tantalizing glimpses of bygone glories.

Politics being inherently divisive, Hellenistic portraits of politicians stress their non-partisan aspects, characterizing them as wise and effective public benefactors, champions of the democratic city, and often implicit (and occasionally explicit) opponents of the kings. This section selects three of them: the Athenian politician and orator Demosthenes (Figure 85), known only in Roman copy; and two magnificent heads, which, by process of elimination, also should belong to politicians (Figures 86–87).

Demosthenes (Figure 85), the fanatical fourth-century champion of Athenian liberty, strident opponent of Macedonian imperialism, and supreme master of Athenian oratory, fell victim in 322 to Macedonian reprisals for the revolt that had exploded when news of Alexander's death reached Greece. The Athenians honored him with a portrait only in 280, when a brief moment of freedom fired them with new hope. By then, they had voted cult to Alexander and then voted it down; had thrice lauded King Demetrios Poliorketes as "Savior God" and thrice repudiated him and his son, Antigonos Gonatas; had suffered several violent political upheavals; had seen their tyrant, Lachares, steal the gold from the Athena Parthenos; and had witnessed their power, economy, and population dwindle dramatically and inexorably.

As usual, the original bronze is lost, but its base would have been around five feet high and the statue, as evidenced by the Roman copies, almost seven feet high: a truly imposing monument. It stood in the Agora near two icons of Athenian liberty, the Tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who at the cost of their own lives had assassinated the tyrant Hipparchos in 514 and had been the first ever to receive honorary portraits for their service to the city. Nearby, too, stood not only a famous bronze of Eirene and Ploutos (Peace nurturing Wealth) by Kephisodotos, the father of the great Praxiteles,



85. Demosthenes (384–322), Roman marble copy from Italy of the honorific bronze by Polyeuktos of Athens erected in the Athenian Agora in 280/279. Tense but supremely self-controlled, the great orator strains for the killer put-down. At every point, the composition – the cramped stance, sheath-like drapery, tightly clasped hands, lowered head, and harsh, unhappy expression – rebuts the swaggering self-promotion of the kings (Figures 4, 22, 24–29), underscoring Demosthenes' lonely and eventually fatal tenacity in maintaining the struggle against "the Macedonian Ares." H 6 ft. 7 1/2 in. (2.02 m). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

but also the bronzes of the kings, some honored in this manner out of gratitude, others (as Pausanias drily insinuates) out of dread.

Introverted and gloomy, the great orator stands with tightly clasped hands, pursed lips, downcast eyes, and furrowed brow, presumably just before addressing the Assembly (his nervousness was proverbial). His triangular beard, gaunt face, and wispy hair distinguish him sharply from the kings that he so doggedly opposed (Figures 3–4, 22, 24) Along with his thin body, bony arms, and large, ovoid skull, his features show that his heroism is intellectual and moral, not physical. Exuding tragic pathos, the statue recalls the tragedian Aischylos's famous dictum that "one must suffer to be wise." A state monument and thus meant to be exemplary, it was given an inscription that read, in a belated flash of anti-Macedonian defiance:

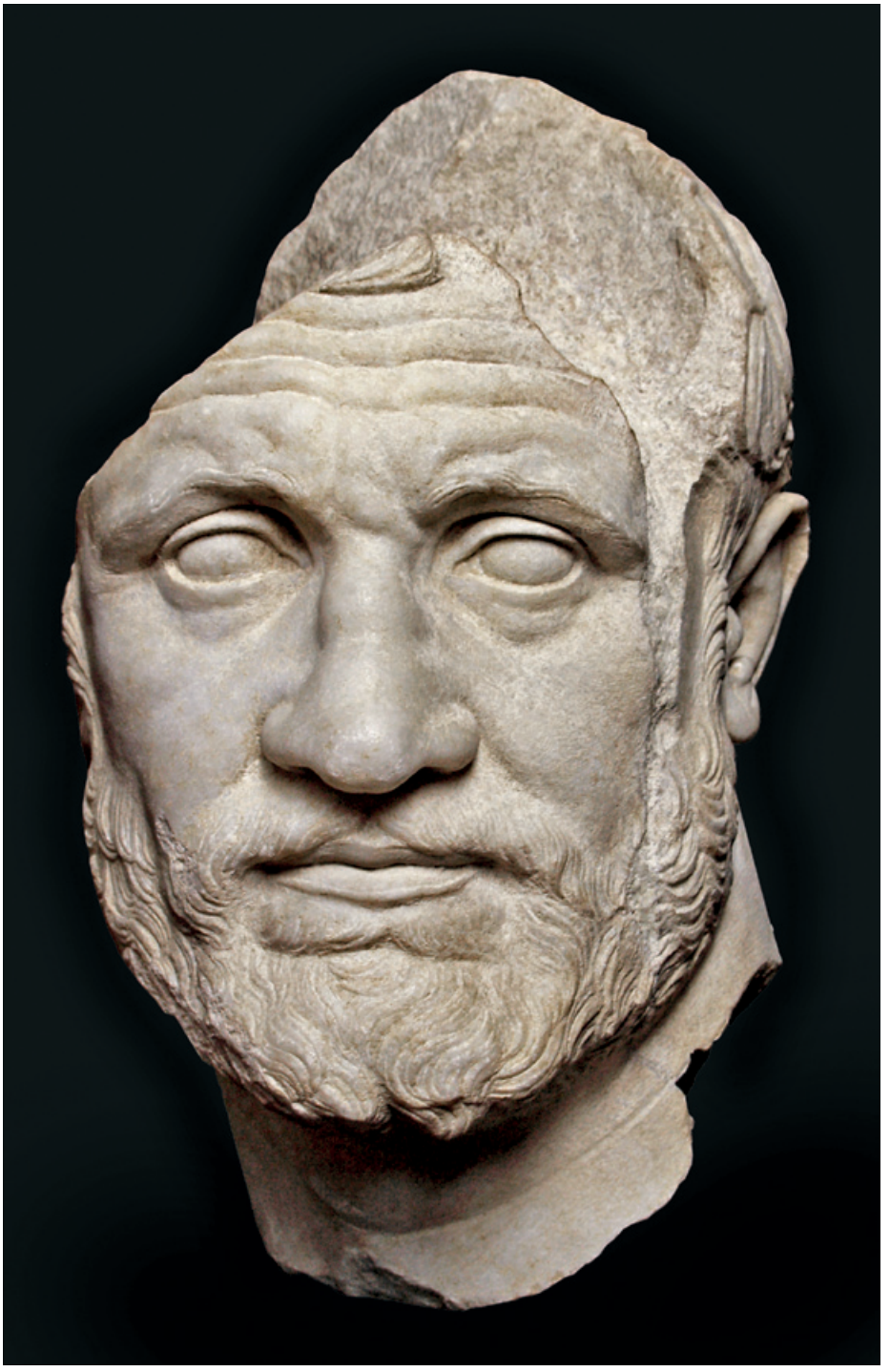
> Would that your strength had matched your will, Demosthenes:
>
> A Macedonian Ares ne'er had ruled the Greeks.[3]

Demosthenes' tragedy and its outcome now strike us with full force. All his wisdom, foresight, and eloquence would never secure his goals, but (unbeknownst to him) it *would* immortalize him. Sadly, although he had the sagacity, the will, and the words, the kings had the power and the overwhelming military force to back it up.

Demosthenes' portrait was both exemplary and extreme. The few other third-century studies of politicians that remain tone down the rhetoric, and (especially in the eastern Aegean and Anatolia Minor) tend to lose their beards in imitation of the youthful energy of the kings and to adopt a more active, extroverted stance. During the second century, however, as the major dynasties declined, Rome's shadow lengthened over the Hellenistic world (see Figures 55–56, 143–45), and politics became ever more complex, uncertain, and fraught, a new manner emerged. It is best illustrated by two superb second-century originals: an over-life-size head in Anatolian marble and a bronze one from Delos (Figures 86–87). Traces of drapery at the former's neck show that, like Demosthenes, he wore the himation, the all-purpose "suit" of the city politician. The other probably also represents a local dignitary. Both radiate an engaging mixture of energy, pathos, stress, and even anxiety that has gained the Delian one the apt nickname of the "Worried Man."

These portraits (and others less accomplished) have been plausibly connected with a contemporary trend in the numerous, highly rhetorical honorary decrees of Priene and other cities of Anatolia. Increasingly, they describe public service as a "sacrifice" and commend their honorees for their "initiative," "zeal," "generosity," and "philanthropy" in undertaking this "toilsome burden" and "stressful labor," with all its accompanying "dangers," and so on. In short, they characterize these late Hellenistic politicians as tireless public benefactors, workaholics, and martyrs to the job, even (it has been remarked) as political masochists, while praising them inter alia as "a living exemplar for the young to follow" – a Farnese Herakles (Figure 63) in a suit.

3 Ares: the blood-soaked god of mayhem and destructive war.



86. A politician, over-life-size portrait probably (given the type of marble) from western Anatolia, carved ca. 150–100. Energetic but showing clear signs of stress, and broken from a statue wearing a himation, it probably portrayed a local city politician honored (as in contemporary decrees) for his "zeal" in undertaking this "stressful labor" in such uncertain times. Its scale, material, and intact surface suggest that he may have been given cult, because these inscriptions occasionally record this very special honor, accompanied by the award of a marble statue in a custom-built shrine instead of a bronze one, standing outdoors. H 16 in. (40.7 cm). Malibu, Getty Villa.



87. The "Worried Man," bronze head broken from an honorary portrait on Delos, ca. 100. The shaping touch of the sculptor's fingers on the original clay is everywhere apparent, creating a likeness that is highly crafted, tactile, and mobile – a virtuoso feat that makes artifice and illusion vie for our attention. The downturned mouth, searching eyes, and deeply furrowed brow externalize and personalize the resulting impression of contingency, instability, and impermanence, inviting us to psychologize the sitter (presumably a local politician honored by one of the decrees described in this chapter) as uncertain, stressed out, and acutely self-aware – even haunted by doubt. H 12 7/8 in. (32.5 cm). Athens, National Museum.

7

PIETY

Although the Greeks had always prided themselves on their piety (*eusebeia*), by the Hellenistic period many of them would have viewed the Olympian gods somewhat differently from their predecessors.

To begin with, some radicals had long maintained that the stories of the poets (Homer, Figure 74, and Hesiod, in particular) were fictions, for they were clearly blasphemous and self-contradictory. Reason dictated that gods do not fornicate or lie; imprison or fight each other; commit adultery; or die. Discontent increased during the fifth century, when the attacks of the Sophists – those itinerant, rationalist, and often agnostic freethinkers and teachers – began to sharpen and strike home.

In Euripides' *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, for example, the heroine declares that Artemis could never demand human sacrifice, as the Taurians believed, for the goddess of purity could not be hypocritical or evil. And in his *Herakles*, the hero states flatly:

> I don't believe the gods condone unlawful love.
> Those bondage stories are unworthy, too.
> I can't accept them; nor that any god
> Is tyrant of another. A true god
> Needs nothing. Those are poets' stupid myths.

These remarks not only anticipate Epikouros's beliefs, discussed in Chapter 6, by a century; they also demolish Greek tragedy's very foundations, and even – with typical Euripidean irony – Herakles' own existence. (He was the uncrowned king of bondage.)

Yet if the divine is a transcendent, impersonal, self-sufficient force that "needs nothing" (as the philosophers tended to believe), how can it take account of human needs or care for individuals? Above all, fourth-century

and Hellenistic Greeks wanted to *connect*. Hence the enormous popularity of Aphrodite, Asklepios, Demeter, and Dionysos. Their domains and agency were universal, and they offered personal satisfactions that the others could never match. And hence, too, the rise of hitherto minor divinities, such as Tyche, and new ones, such as Sarapis (see Figures 96–98), not to mention the ruler cult (see Figures 101–3), inspired by Alexander's superhuman, indeed godlike, exploits and then by those of his successors. As the early third-century Athenian hymn to King Demetrios Poliorketes (see Figures 28–29), introduced in Chapter 2, put it:

> The other gods are far away
> Or cannot hear,
> Or don't exist, or don't care for us at all.
> But you are here, and visible,
> Not carved in wood or stone, but real,
> And so we pray to you.

Yet traditional religious practices – sacrifices, prayers, votive offerings, cult statues, temples, and so on – still remained acceptable. Indeed, they were now more desirable than ever, for they not only concretely expressed one's desire for a personal relationship with the gods, but also could serve a purer piety focused on divinity as such, whatever its form or needs. As Plato had remarked:

> Some of the gods [i.e., the sun, moon, and stars] we see clearly and honor them; but of the others, we set up likenesses or images, which we worship. And though these are lifeless, we believe that the living gods are well disposed and grateful to us on this account.

So, paradoxically, for most intellectuals, such offerings now became both obligatory and purely symbolic: Recognition of the divine in any form entails not only honoring it, but also – if one has any brains at all – not taking the forms in which one honors it literally. As for the rest, traditional beliefs and practices persisted with little change, as evidenced by the countless inscriptions concerning religious matters of all kinds and the numerous divine epiphanies recorded during the period, such as Artemis Leukophryene's to the Magnesians in 221/220 (see the next section) and the various epiphanies of Apollo, Artemis, Athena, and Pan to the Greek armies battling the Celts, from their invasion of Greece in 279 through their great Anatolian revolt of 166.

Confirming all this, Hellenistic inscriptions and literary epigrams document a vast array of dedications (*anathēmata*) to the gods from every stratum of society. In this polytheistic world, hopes or successes of any kind could prompt such a gift, according to one's station, finances, and outlook. Sanctuaries, temples, altars, sculptures, paintings, vessels, mirrors, jewelry, furniture, weapons, musical instruments, tools, clothing, and even food – all could be, and were, offered to the gods in abundance. Some were of precious materials, others much humbler – although, as usual, only the cheaper, more durable kinds tend to survive. Examples already discussed

include Figures 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, 21, 25, 31, 45–49, 57–62, and 75; and the originals of many of the Roman copies (e.g., Figures 41–44).

SANCTUARIES, TEMPLES, AND ALTARS

Technically these were all dedications, from the most magnificent sanctuary to the humblest altar. In Greece and the Aegean, new sanctuaries and temples were rare, because the cities were not only already well supplied with them, but also usually strapped for cash. Royal benefactors occasionally stepped in, sometimes (Figures 48–49) spurring real innovation, but most of the relatively few new temples in the area were financed by public subscription and were conservative in design.

Royal capitals and the cities of Asia were another matter. As noted in Chapter 1, Alexandria, Antioch, and Pergamon soon bristled with new sanctuaries, temples, and altars (Figures 5, 13–15, 17, 21, 57–62), and architectural innovation, especially at Alexandria and its neighbors (Figure 18), proceeded apace. Elsewhere, royal piety and deference to local cults produced huge, new Pharaonic-style temples in Egypt, such as those at Denderah (Figure 88) and Philae; refurbished older ones there and in Babylon (Figure 19); new Hellenizing ones in Syria and Mesopotamia; and new Iranian-style ones in far-off Baktria (Figure 21).

As was also noted in the Introduction and Chapter 1, the Aegean coast of Anatolia had witnessed an architectural renaissance in the decades before Alexander, led by the innovative Pytheos of Priene (Figures 5–6, 47). Sustained by royal patronage, this renaissance continued through the third century, as exemplified by two major Ionic temples, those of Apollo at Didyma and Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (Figures 89–91).

The Didyma temple (Figures 89–90), which replaced an archaic predecessor destroyed by the Persians in 494, was begun around 300 and never finished. Initially financed by the Seleukids, it was still under construction half a millennium later. Built in stages and, unusually, from the inside out, it was both gigantic and architecturally innovative in a way that eloquently expressed the mysteries of the oracular cult it housed.

The visitor's torturous path to the sacred began quite conventionally, with a monumental staircase ascending 13 feet (4 meters) to the temple's platform and its 65-foot-high (19.8-meter) forest of columns. Walking through it and gradually quitting the sunlight, he or she would naturally head for the main door, almost 90 feet (27 meters) away, only to encounter a huge, monolithic, impassable threshold, 5 feet (1.5 meters) high and 26 feet (8 meters) long. This probably served as a podium for oracular pronouncements.[1] The

1 It fronted a wide antechamber whose roof was supported by two huge Ionic columns. From it, two narrow staircases led to the temple's roof, their ceilings appropriately embellished with labyrinthine key meanders, and a monumental stair descended into the temple's interior.



88. (From left to right) Kleopatra VII (reigned 51–30) and Ptolemy XV Caesarion (her son by Julius Caesar, born in 47) worshiping the Egyptian gods, from the Hathor sanctuary at Denderah. Kleopatra, dressed as an Egyptian priestess, assists Ptolemy, represented as Pharaoh and priest, with offering incense to Harsomtos, Isis/Hathor, the falcon-headed Harsomtos-Horus, Osiris-Onophris, and others not shown. (The tiny figure behind Caesarion is his spirit, or *ka*; Harsomtos is the Greek for Horus in his form as Horus-who-unites-the-Two-Lands.) Kleopatra, described as "Ruler, Lady of the Two Lands," wears the headdress of Isis-Hathor, who grants her life and health in return.

solution: two small doors at the far left and right. Each fronted a sloping, vaulted tunnel almost 70 feet (21.3 meters) long that beckoned the visitor down into the interior, towards a small patch of light at the far end.

There, another surprise lay in store. Instead of encountering the usual roofed cult room, or *cella*, the visitor stepped out into a vast, walled courtyard, thick with Apollo's laurel trees. A high podium surrounded it, supporting tall Ionic pilasters crowned by acanthus capitals and a frieze of Apollo's griffins and kitharas. Only after he or she penetrated deep into this enclosed, shady, sacred grove did the holy of holies begin to emerge: a small Ionic temple-within-a-temple. It housed an archaic cult image of Apollo that had been looted by the Persians but was returned by Seleukos I: an ancient talisman at the heart of an ultramodern labyrinth.

As for Magnesia (Figure 91), in 221/220 Artemis had staged a spectacular epiphany there, prompting the locals to ask Delphi how best to commemorate it. Apollo, ever supportive of his sister, told them to proclaim a festival of "crown" games in her honor for all the Greeks of Asia. The invitation, which included a request to recognize Magnesia itself as sacred and inviolable,



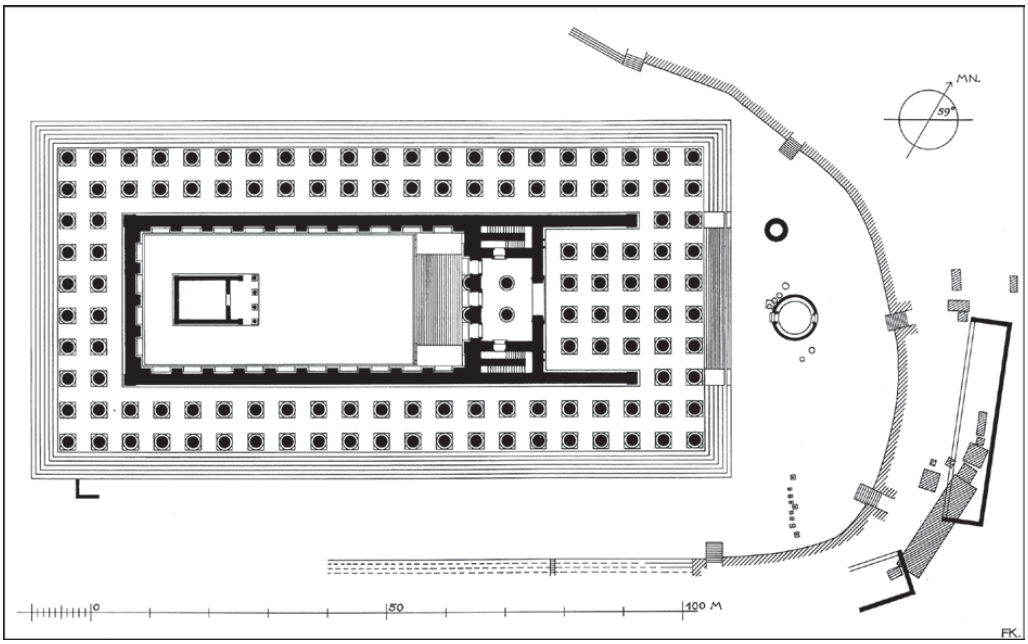
89. The oracular temple of Apollo at Didyma, begun ca. 300 but completed only during the Roman Empire. An Ionic tour de force measuring 167 × 358 ft. (51.13 × 109.34 m) on its platform, or stylobate, the temple features a deep porch and double (dipteral) 10 × 21 outer colonnade of 108 columns, each 65 ft. (19.7 m) high. Its architects, Paionios of Ephesos and Daphnis of Miletos, scaled it up fifty percent from its archaic predecessor, which had been destroyed by the Persians in 494. In the 1980s, the German archaeologist Lothar Haselberger discovered their working drawings incised on its *cella* walls, shedding new light on Greek architectural design methods.

fell flat, but in 208 they tried again, this time successfully. The profits generated by the ensuing influx of visitors probably funded the temple and its monumental altar (Figure 91). Its architect, Hermogenes of Alabanda, was so proud of his work that he wrote a treatise on it that later mightily impressed Vitruvius.

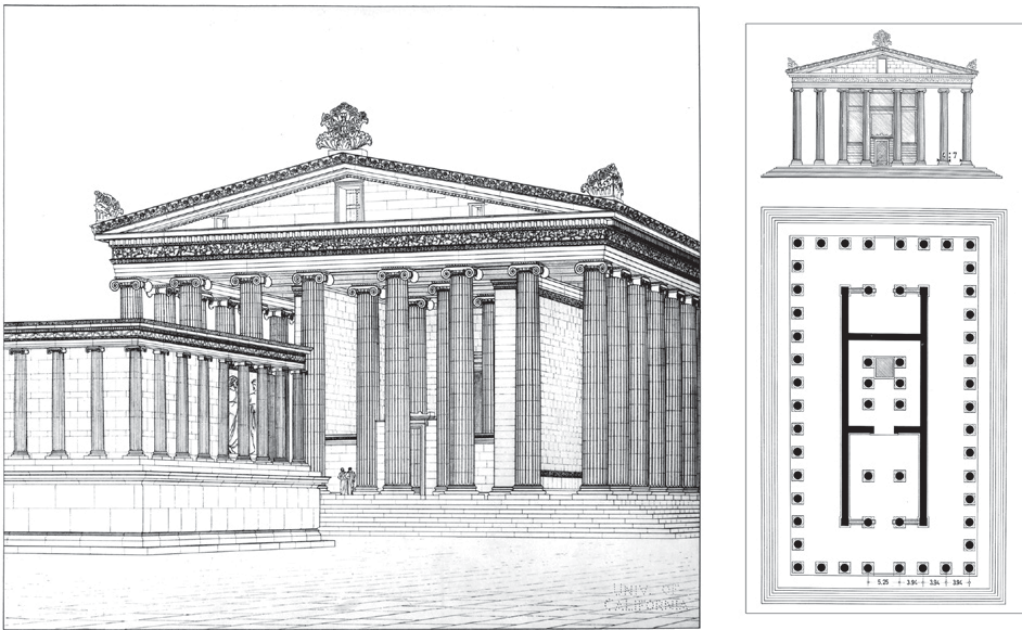
In this treatise, Hermogenes took up the mantle of the great Pytheos, who had criticized the Doric order for its design flaws; championed Ionic instead (Figures 5–6, 47); and insisted that a modular system should govern its every element.[2] Hermogenes, in his turn, vigorously promoted the so-called

2 Apparently their main objection to Doric was that it contained an internal contradiction that could never be resolved: the two rules that governed its most distinctive feature, the triglyph–metope frieze, conflicted. These mandated (1) that the triglyphs must be centered above the axes of the columns and the spaces between them; and (2) that the frieze must end with a triglyph, not a half-metope. At the corners, to obey rule (1) meant violating rule (2), and vice versa. In order to finesse

(*continued on page 161*)



90. Plan of the temple of Apollo, Figure 89. A sacred grove of laurel trees stood within its vast, 71 × 150 ft. (21.7 × 45.4 m), open-air inner courtyard, concealing a smaller Ionic temple measuring 28 × 47.7 ft. (8.6 × 14.5 m) and 35 ft. (10.4 m) high. This housed the archaic cult statue of Apollo by Kanachos of Sikyon, taken by the Persians in 494 but returned by Seleukos I.



91. Reconstructed view, elevation, and plan of the Ionic temple and altar of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, designed ca. 200 by Hermogenes of Alabanda. Measuring 103 × 190 ft. (31.6 × 57.9 m) on the stylobate and obsessively



92. Watercolor of a fresco (the final one of three) on a 2 ft. square altar by the door of Shop XIX in the southern harbor at Delos, ca. 100–67. Two men in togas, preceded by a slave with an offering tray of fruits and a pig, arrive at a similar altar, whose sacrificial fire is already burning. On the sides (not shown), men box and wrestle; the adjacent walls were frescoed with ritual vessels and implements. The shop's owners, Italian freedmen devotees of the Lares Compitales (guardians of commerce, neighborhoods, and crossroads), would have paid for the repainting through their cult association, the Competaliasts, as part of its annual winter festival. Delos, in situ, now largely effaced.

octastyle pseudodipteral plan, invented in the archaic period but disdained in the classical. Employed at Magnesia, it mandated a stately eight-column façade and the elimination of the inner colonnade of the great double-colonnaded, or *dipteral*, Ionic temples at Samos, Ephesos, Sardis, and Didyma (Figures 89–90). This move doubled the width of the walkway between the

91. (*continued*)

regular, it had a colonnade of 8 × 15 columns and was pseudodipteral in plan, substituting an ambulatory for Didyma's inner colonnade (Figure 89). Hermogenes advocated a graded series of proportional schemes for temple façades, based on the column's lower diameter. Equally novel in Ionia was his use of Athenian-style Ionic column bases and sculptured continuous friezes. The bases were more graceful than the local square plinths (see Figures 5, 47, 89–90) and the friezes made his entablatures more imposing, balancing the more spacious colonnades below.

outer colonnade and *cella*, making it more spacious, impressive, and practical for accommodating religious processions.

The temple's altar (Figure 91) was equally monumental and also featured colossal sculpture – one of several such precursors to Pergamon's Great Altar (Figures 14, 57–62). Lest these majestic buildings be thought the Hellenistic norm, however, most of the period's temples and altars are quite modest in size and unadorned with sculpture. To the monumental altars, in particular, contrast – at the other end of the scale – the modest square household ones of local stone found everywhere that Hellenistic houses and shops have been excavated. Usually plastered, on Delos they are often frescoed with simple religious scenes (Figure 92). Immigrant Italian freedmen and slaves dedicated many of them to their native Lares Compitales, who protected shops, merchants, and commerce.

CULT IMAGES (AND OTHERS)

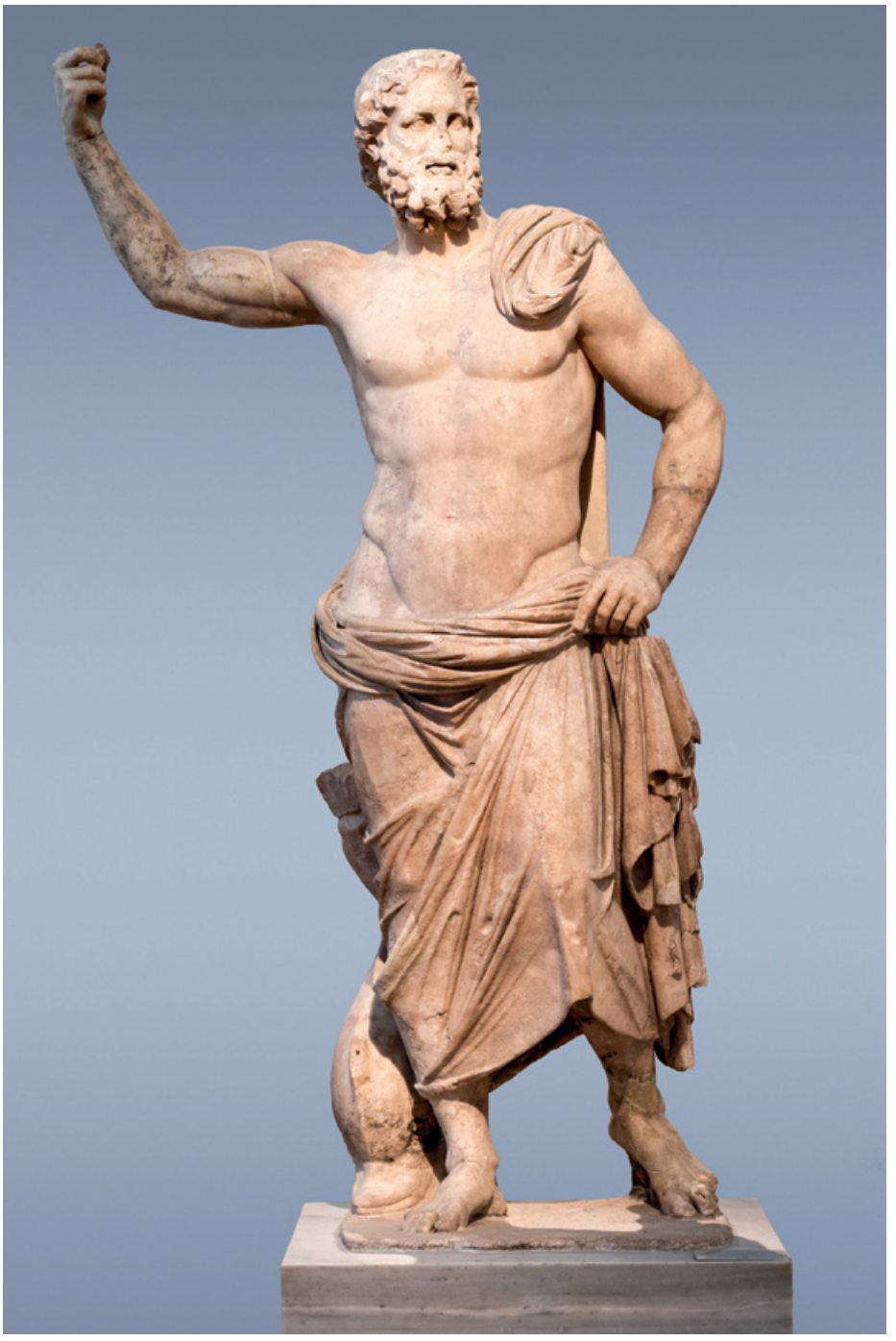
Just as the more inventive Hellenistic architects devised new ways to house and present the gods, so too did the better Hellenistic sculptors devise new ways of representing them (literally "making them present again") and thereby of engaging the pious.

One obvious way was to magnify their power and/or allure – their agency – by exploiting the innovations of the Hellenistic baroque. By all accounts, the Athenian sculptor Phyromachos, a favorite of the Pergamene court, achieved this in spectacular fashion with his cult image of Asklepios Sotēr (Savior) for the city's Asklepieion. This statue is lost, however, and copies are elusive, but two others from the Aegean island of Melos, a Poseidon (Figure 93) and an Aphrodite – the famous Venus de Milo (Figure 7) – show how such a fusion could work.[3]

The Poseidon is identified as such by the dolphin at his side (and is that a beach towel he's clutching?). The sculptor enhances the swaggering posture of Lysippos's Alexanders (Figure 4) by swinging the legs and hips emphatically one way and the torso and head the other. He combines this pendulum rhythm with simplified, classicizing musculature, a chunky, expressive face, and leonine hair (complete with *anastolē*), to create a vivid epiphany of superhuman, but still discreetly restrained, power and universal agency. The Aphrodite, on the other hand, adopts the sprung, twisting rhythms of the

this so-called "corner conflict," Doric architects had moved the corner columns inward and the last two triglyphs outward, compressing the colonnade and stretching the frieze. Pytheos and Hermogenes argued that this wrecked the whole system, because it meant that the rhythm of the façade disintegrated at the corners, ruining the temple's overall proportional scheme.

3 The Aphrodite is technically a votive, but merits inclusion at this point because such distinctions were not ironclad. The fragments of her arms along with two beardless herms were found in a niche in the city's gymnasium, dedicated by a certain Bacchios, its assistant director, to Hermes and Herakles; her body was found nearby.



93. Poseidon, colossal marble statue found by a niche near the harbor of Melos, ca. 150–100. The god, identified by the dolphin against his right leg, held a bronze trident vertically in his right hand. Technical details suggest manufacture in the same workshop as the "Venus de Milo" (Figure 7). Both are similarly pieced (with a nude upper body inserted into a draped lower one), tooled, and modeled. Designed for frontal viewing, they are merely sketched at the back. H 7 ft. 1 1/2 in. (2.17 m). Athens, National Museum.

Nike of Samothrace (Figure 46) and other baroque figures to heighten the sensuousness of her pose. Her drapery is fully baroque, employing doubled folds and other mannerisms that recur both on the Nike and on the Great Altar. Her torso and head, however, are neoclassical and Praxitelean: slightly elongated versions of the Knidia's (see Figure 104).

The Aphrodite's appeal, however, did not end there. Found in the city's gymnasium, she stood on a base that was recorded in a nineteenth-century drawing but is now partially lost. The lost portion was signed by the sculptor [Alex]andros from Magnesia on the Meander (hence its disappearance, since nineteenth-century connoisseurs desperately wanted to attribute the statue to Praxiteles); it also held a socket for a herm. The goddess's left forearm and hand, found in a nearby niche and probably once resting on the herm, held an apple. This both alluded to the Judgment of Paris[4] and punned on the island's name, for *mēlon* in Greek means "apple," and apples featured prominently on Melian coins.

Dedicated to the gods of the gymnasium, Hermes and Herakles, the statue would have symbolized the ties of affection (*erōs*) that united the Melians who exercised there. Moreover, the Greeks had long understood the Judgment of Paris as symbolizing a man's three principal life choices: war (Athena), politics (Hera), or love (Aphrodite). With Roman domination now largely foreclosing the first and constricting the second, the third – love, marriage, and domesticity – had become increasingly attractive. These multiple local resonances would have fostered the sense of an in-group among the gymnasium's clientele, satisfying at one stroke the demands of local piety and this culture's overriding urge to *connect*.

A colossal cult group created by Damophon of Messene for the remote sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura on Mount Lykaion in Arkadia (Figures 94–95) went even further in indulging its clientele.

Local legend related that Demeter, trying to escape from Poseidon, had changed herself into a mare, but he immediately morphed into a stallion and mounted her. Fleeing in rage to an Arkadian cave, she put on black and bore a daughter. The locals soon venerated the girl as an all-powerful nature goddess who united her parents' aquatic and terrestrial domains. Because her name could not be spoken, they called her Despoina ("Mistress"), and her mysteries became the holiest in Arkadia. In addition to Demeter and Despoina, the group included Artemis (recognized there as another daughter of Demeter and a powerful nature goddess, too) and the Titan Anytos, who had protected the baby Despoina from harm.

At every level, Damophon operated within two complementary frames of reference, seeking both to revive the venerable art of the great Pheidias as the most appropriate way to stage his divine quartet and to engage local piety at all times. Thus, Pausanias tells us that the two principal figures were akin to the Athenian Mother Goddess (by Pheidias's favorite pupil, Agorakritos)

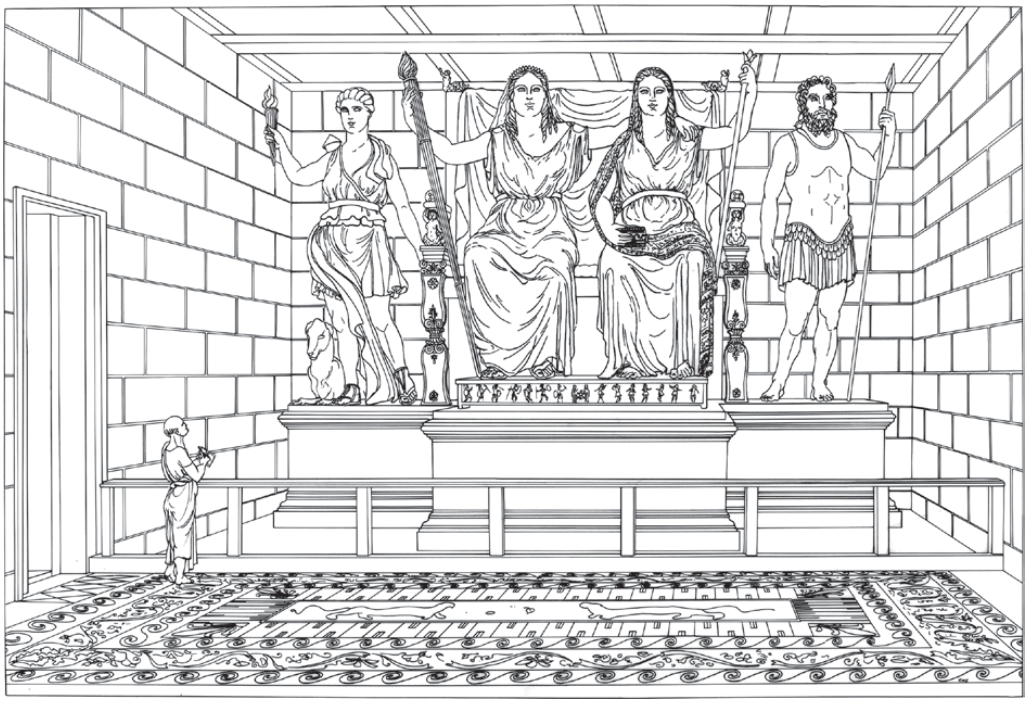
4 Asked to judge whether Hera, Athena, or Aphrodite was the most beautiful (the original no-win situation), he famously gave the apple to Aphrodite, infuriating the other two and eventually igniting the Trojan War.



94. Heads of Artemis, Demeter, and the Titan Anytos from the colossal marble cult group by Damophon of Messene for the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura in Arkadia, ca. 200. They are hollowed out behind to reduce their weight; Artemis's hair is mostly restored. Pausanias was told that the entire group was carved from a single, huge block miraculously discovered in the sanctuary, but its size and numerous joining surfaces disprove this. (Sometimes really intelligent people can be really gullible.) The legend strengthened the sanctuary's credentials as the oldest in the world and Despoina's as the primordial goddess of nature. H of heads 18 1/2 in. (47 cm) and 26 3/8 in. (67 cm). Athens, National Museum.

in scale, and the types Damophon selected were also Pheidian, imitating the Demeter and Kore of the Parthenon's east pediment. Their drapery and heads are basically Pheidian, too, but were discreetly modernized with more restless rhythms, softer flesh, and more sensuous facial features.

Filling almost the entire height of the temple (Figure 94) and further enhanced by color, the massive figures must have made an overwhelming impression. Artemis's and Anytos's eyes were inlaid in colored stone or glass, and the curtain across the back of the throne was dark blue, Despoina's sacred veil purple-red, and Demeter's *chitōn* probably black. Against all this, the goddesses' white flesh would have stood out starkly, with their tinted eyes gazing out into the distance: awesome, vividly present, and cannily contemporary epiphanies of Pheidian grandeur and Olympian authority.



95. Reconstruction of the Lykosoura cult group (Figure 94): from the left, Artemis, Demeter, Despoina, and the Titan Anytos. Because of the site's remoteness, much of the group survives; it is also pictured on a Roman-period coin and described by Pausanias. On the throne's footstool, the Kouretes attend the Birth of Zeus, flanked by the dancing Korybantes (adherents of Kybele); Poseidon's Tritons support its arms. Despoina's sacred veil included friezes of Zeus's eagles and thunderbolts; Nereids riding sea monsters; Nikai carrying incense burners, alternating with olive sprays; olive garlands; a wave motif; and a frieze of clothed animals dancing and playing musical instruments. A pebble mosaic of lions fronts the group. H ca. 19 ft. (5.7 m). Athens, National Museum, and Lykosoura Museum.

This much would have been obvious to any Greek familiar with Pheidias's great cult images at Olympia, Athens, and elsewhere, but the group's ancillary details explicitly engaged local beliefs and cults. The throne's decoration invokes Zeus (worshiped on the peak above the site), Kybele (the Asian Great Mother; Demeter's and Despoina's equivalent), and Poseidon. The decoration of Despoina's sacred veil includes other references to Zeus and Poseidon; sacrificial paraphernalia listed in a sacred law from the sanctuary; and a curious frieze of clothed animals dancing and playing musical instruments that may reference a ritual from Despoina's annual festival, since they recur on local votive terracottas. All this not only evoked nature's infinite scope but also (via the dancing animals) proclaimed the basic kinship of man and beast that allowed each to "find" the goddess and its own destiny, or *telos*, through the shared rite of sacrifice.

Damophon profited handsomely from his work. Although we do not know exactly what he was paid, it must have been substantial. A Lykosouran decree honors him for forgiving the city's outstanding debt to him of 14,184 drachmas, or more than 2 1/3 talents (a penalty for some contract violation on its part) and a further 5,000 drachmas (5/6 talent) spent on logistics (see Box 2, p. 23: "Hellenistic Money"). Clearly, he could afford to be generous. Moreover, a Messenian decree, erected in front of a hero-shrine that might well be his, records lavish honors given to him by Lykosoura and no fewer than six other cities, in three cases because of his superlative cult statue work. Clearly, in this period, the right specialization, technical expertise, a flair for bringing the gods vividly to life, a targeted address to traditional and local piety, and conspicuously civic-minded generosity were literally worth their weight in gold.

So much for old Greece. The new cities of Asia also created a bonanza of such commissions for the enterprising. For example, Seleukos's new capital of Antioch in Syria, founded after he crushed Antigonos One-Eye in 301, urgently needed a city goddess, which Lysippos's son and pupil, Eutychides, promptly supplied. His statue swiftly became wildly popular, inspiring numerous small replicas for domestic cult (Figure 96) and dozens of imitations across the Hellenistic East. Displayed in a portable shrine for parading around town on feast days, it represented the nymph Antiocheia in her role as the presiding Fortune (Tyche) of the city.

The goddess sat on a rock symbolizing Mount Silpius, the city's akropolis, while the nearby Orontes River swam at her feet. She held a sheaf of wheat as a token of Syria's agricultural wealth and wore on her head the city's turreted crown. To create a strong sense of physical presence, Eutychides paid great attention to textures. Her tissue-thin *chitōn* was richly etched with shimmering rills, while the Orontes surely resembled Eutychides' own River Eurotas, described in the sources as "wetter than water." This was a lucky snapshot of the goddess of Luck herself, by happenstance ensconced both firmly above and inside the city she protected.

The sculptor Bryaxis also received major commissions for cult statues at both Alexandria and Antioch: respectively, a colossal Sarapis and a colossal Apollo Kitharoidos, both of gold and ivory – although one source claims that the latter was akrolithic. To judge from the texts, the Apollo was lively but otherwise quite conventional; the Sarapis was new, however – a synthetic divinity created by Ptolemy I specifically to unify his disparate subjects. The Greeks now flooding into Egypt had brought various gods with them but had left behind their own civic cults, and the Egyptians owed no allegiance to the Olympians.

The synthesis was shrewd. It embraced (on the Greek side) Dionysos as the god of earthly prosperity and a joyous afterlife and Hades as simultaneously god of the Underworld and of fertility, via his association with the earth and his bride, Persephone; and (on the Egyptian side) the Apis Bull, worshiped in death at Memphis as Osor-Hapi and, as such, identified with



96. The nymph Antiocheia as the Tychē (Fortune) of Antioch, Roman bronze statuette from Tortosa, Spain, after an over-life-size bronze by Eutychides of Sikyon, ca. 300–290. The goddess sits on a rock symbolizing Mount Silpios, the city's akropolis, while the River Orontes swims at her feet. Her elaborately casual pose with its strongly diverging axes, crisscrossing drapery folds, and twisting Orontes create a three-dimensional composition that nevertheless relates strongly to a notional background plane, defined by the lateral extension of the figures' limbs. They also reveal Tychē's true character, enshrining Fortune's momentary nature in a composition of studied artifice. H 6 1/3 in. (16 cm). Paris, Louvre.

Osiris, the pan-Egyptian fertility god who, after being dismembered by his jealous brother Seth, had been pieced together by his sister Isis, given immortality, and set to rule over the dead – like Hades.

Bryaxis's statue, known in literally hundreds of later versions (Figure 97), presented Sarapis as an enthroned, bearded father figure. He held a scepter in his raised left hand and a libation dish in his right, extended over the fearsome hound of Hades, the three-headed Kerberos/Anubis. Wearing a *chitōn* under his *himation* in "barbarian" fashion, the god carried a fruit basket, or *kalathos*, on his head, had leonine hair complete with *anastolē,* and a face black like the fertile earth.

Like a second Zeus, this half-oriental confection of considerable majesty and power sat inside a Corinthian temple (now destroyed but pictured on a Ptolemaic gem) located in a colonnaded sanctuary on a hill at the southwestern corner of the city (Figure 17 top left). Predictably, he was soon venerated also as a god of healing. Yet his form and setting were purely Greek. The Greeks of the Hellenistic diaspora indeed spoke and listened to foreigners, especially Egyptians, Levantines, Mesopotamians, Iranians, and Indians, with their ancient and sophisticated cultures, but almost always did so as masters to subordinates. Only when honoring powerful native gods in a native setting – for example, Marduk at Babylon (Figure 19), Mithras at Ai Khanoum (Figure 21), and Hathor at Denderah (Figure 88) – did they use the local modes of address.

VOTIVES

Of the brilliant kaleidoscope of votives mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, for the most part numerous marbles and only a few bronzes survive.

First, votive reliefs. Their golden age had been the classical period: Hellenistic ones are fewer and more heterogeneous. The best of them, however, such as Archelaos's Apotheosis of Homer (Figure 75) and a fine relief in Munich (Figure 98), are complex and fascinating. Both enrich the traditional processional format of worshipers bearing gifts (Figure 92) and sacrificing, by incorporating new elements. Archelaos includes a Mountain of the Muses and a statue of a poet standing on a base, and the other adds a whole sacred landscape complete with two tiny statues of divinities on a pillar, creating a vivid image of a rural sanctuary that strikingly resembles parts of the Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar (Figures 61–62).

Both of these reliefs aim to contextualize the ritual as vividly as possible and to turn the spectator into an eyewitness of it. Probably they stood at eyelevel in a niche or on a pillar. Yet whereas the Apotheosis is actually mountain-shaped, the Munich relief incongruously retains a classical-type architectural frame, which conventionally depicted a stoa within the sanctuary. Perhaps it was intended to evoke its porch, or *propylon*, affording us a glimpse through the gate into the interior.

An image of a god or goddess was (or could be) a more generous dedication, depending on its material and scale. Examples range from terracotta and



97. Sarapis, bronze statuette from Paramythia in northwestern Greece: a Hellenistic version of Bryaxis' colossal gold-and-ivory cult statue made for the Sarapeion at Alexandria ca. 280. Conflating Hades/Dionysos with the Egyptian Apis/Osiris, Sarapis wears a fruit basket (*kalathos*) on his head. He held a scepter in his raised left hand and a libation dish in his right, extended over the seated hound of Hades, Kerberos/Anubis. A Roman gem shows him seated in his Corinthian temple in the Sarapeion, complete with a Ptolemaic eagle in its pediment and a chariot-borne Nike as its central *akrotērion*. H 6 1/2 in. (16.5 cm). London, British Museum.



98. A sacrifice in a rural sanctuary, set within an architectural frame; marble votive relief, ca. 200–150. Shaded by a plane tree bound with fillets, with a curtain hanging from its outer branches, an enthroned, bearded god and his consort (Asklepios and Hygieia? Sarapis/Hades and Persephone?), each holding a scepter, receive homage from a family of devotees. At the altar, the father dips into a basket of offerings, flanked by his wife and son, while a younger child brings a second basket, covered by a cloth. Other, smaller-scale worshippers follow. In the background, statues of the two divinities stand on a tall pillar. Provenance unknown. H 24 in. (61 cm). Munich, Glyptothek.

bronze statuettes, such as the aforementioned Tyche and Sarapis (Figures 96–97), to full-scale statues. Prime examples include the Venus de Milo (Figure 7), dedicated in the island's gymnasium by one Bacchios, its assistant director, to Hermes and Herakles; and the so-called "Slipper-Slapper" (Figure 99) dedicated in the clubhouse of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos (Beirut) on Delos by a certain Dionysios of Berytos. A somewhat clumsy burlesque on the Knidian Aphrodite (see Figure 104),[5] it reminds us, first, that standards of religious decorum varied widely across the Hellenistic world (it would have been unthinkable in conservative Athens, where frivolities such as this were shunned, as were naked Aphrodites), and second, that the past can be a very foreign country indeed.

5 Not, as one student of mine alleged on a final exam, the Virgin Mary, the Devil, and an Angel. (Where had she been all semester?)



99. Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros, marble group from Delos. Found in the clubhouse of the Poseidoniasts of Berytos (Beirut in Lebanon), and dedicated ca. 100 by "Dionysios son of Zenon son of Theodoros of Berytos, benefactor, on behalf of himself and his children, to his native gods." Presumably these gods included the Phoenician love goddess, Ashtart. The museum also possesses a small bronze version of this Aphrodite from Beirut, also brandishing a sandal. H 4 ft. 2 3/4 in. (1.29 m). Athens, National Museum.



100. Aristonoe, daughter of Nikokratos of Rhamnous in Attica; marble portrait dedicated to Nemesis (Retribution) and Themis (Custom) by her son Hierokles to celebrate her election as priestess of Nemesis. Found in the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, she probably held an offering tray or garland in her arms, carved separately to save marble. Although she is usually dated to the third century, the mason who cut her dedicatory inscription is now known from other, dated examples of his lettering to belong to the mid-second century. H of figure 5 ft. 3 3/4 in. (1.62 m). Athens, National Museum.

The most favored sculptural votives, however, were portraits. Always dedicated by others (ranging from family and friends to civic bodies to admiring royalty), they could celebrate any achievement, from election to office to athletic or military victory, placing one eternally (one hoped) before the eyes of the gods. Because bronze was the favored medium, few of them survive (for possible exceptions, see the athletes of Figures 68–73 and the "Worried Man" from Delos, Figure 87), except where local custom favored marble.

Women often received this honor, either as members of family groups or on their own merits. For example, around 150, one Hierokles dedicated a marble portrait of his mother, Aristonoe (Figure 100), to Nemesis (Retribution) upon her election as the goddess's priestess at Rhamnous in Attica. Her dress and physiognomy are completely conventional, characterizing her as the most perfect of women. Only a slight puffiness in her face betrays her advancing years.

RULER CULT

Finally, ruler cult. Whether spontaneously voted from below to hail the ruler's superhuman power and agency (as with Demetrios Poliorketes, discussed in Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter), or imposed from above (as in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic empires), it could involve full-scale cult images, usually of marble, either displayed solo (Figures 52, perhaps 33–34), or alongside other gods in their temples. Probably it also generated many of our small bronze Alexanders, Seleukids, Ptolemies, and others (e.g., Figures 4, 31), either for dedication or domestic worship. The kings were assimilated to gods and heroes such as Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes, and Herakles (Figure 31) and the queens to Aphrodite, Good Fortune (Agathē Tychē: Figure 31), Isis, and others.

The ruler cult also prompted some interesting by-products, such as the elaborate mosaic (one of two) in Figure 101 and the faience wine jug in Figure 102. While the mosaic parades the queen as a sea goddess (did anyone ever dare ask her where she got that hat?), the jug, used for libations in the Ptolemaic ruler cult, features her as Agathē Tychē, carrying the regime's trademark double cornucopia (designed around 270 by Arsinoe II, the first of them, and the greatest until Kleopatra VII (Figures 2, 31)). Standing by an altar, she piously pours a libation: to the Olympians, Alexander, or the king himself, as the Ptolemaic kingdom's ultimate protectors?

A superb basalt statuette of Kleopatra (Figure 103), probably dedicated in an Egyptian temple, shows how far such assimilation could go and the multiple layers of meaning it could convey. Rigorously Pharaonic, from her hairdo, triple royal cobra or *uraeus*,[6] and face (compare Figure 2) to her

6 The *uraeus* is now tripled, however, signifying either the union of the "Two Lands" (Upper and Lower Egypt: see caption to Figure 88) with the former Seleukid Empire or Kleopatra's other title, "Queen of Kings," with the other two *uraei* representing the kings: her children.

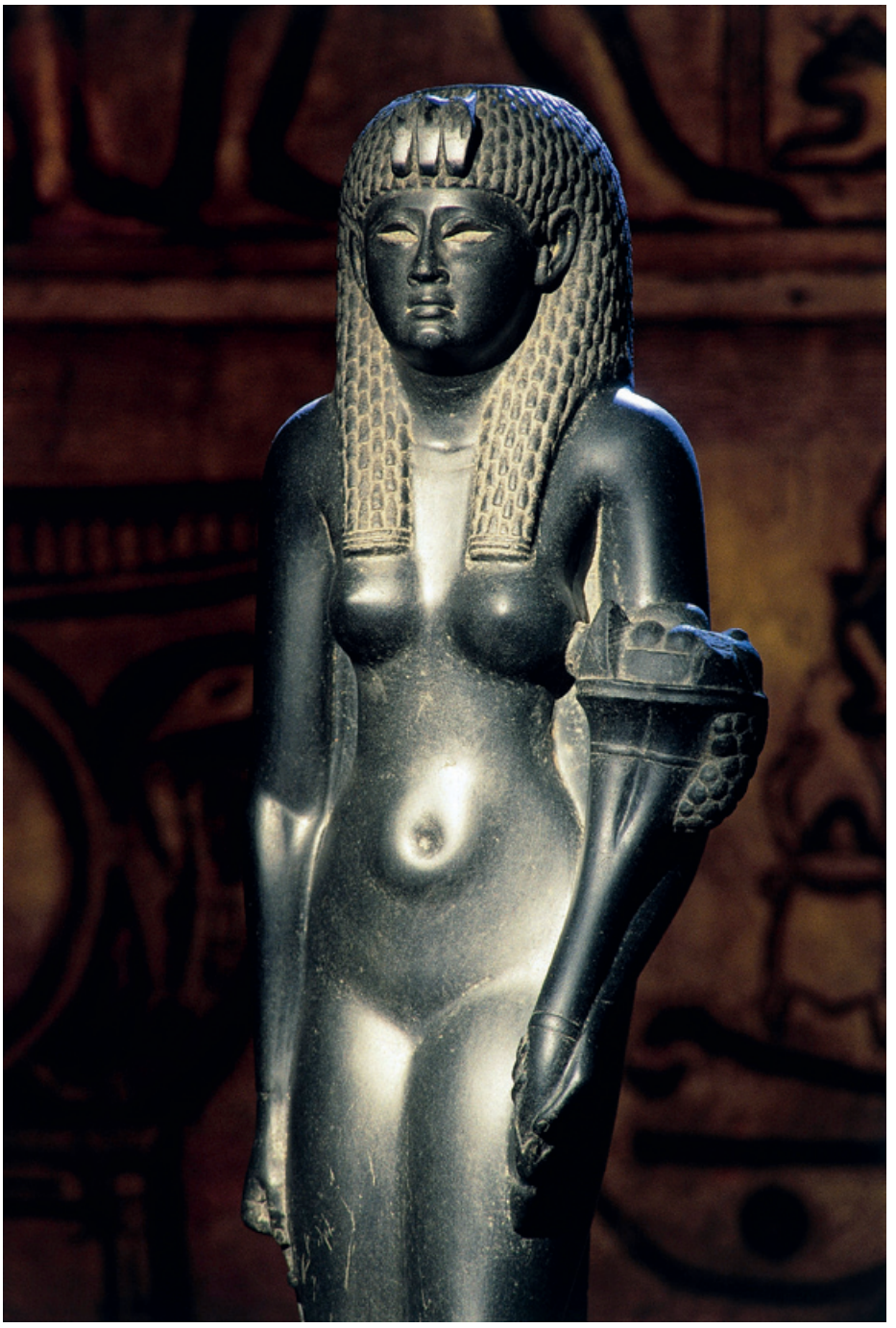


101. Probably Queen Berenike II (reigned 246–222/1), one of two mosaics from a villa at Thmuis (Tell Timai) in Egypt, signed by Sophilos. Identified by her coin portraits, Berenike wears a warship's prow on her head and holds a naval flagstaff (*stylis*) wound about with a diadem; a shield stands behind her. By analogy with the Tyche of Antioch (Figure 96), these – somewhat bizarre – attributes identify her as a naval goddess of Fortune, following the precedent set by Queen Arsinoe II Philadelphos (reigned 275–269). On Cape Zephyrion, near Alexandria, Arsinoe was worshiped as Aphrodite Euploia, or "of the fair voyage" (compare the Knidian Aphrodite, Figure 104), the goddess of all liquids and the sea-foam (*aphros*). Kallikrates, a Ptolemaic admiral, founded this cult shortly before Arsinoe's death in 269, and Alexandrian poets celebrated it in multiple epigrams. For the *opus vermiculatum* technique, see the Alexander Mosaic (Figures 3, 37) and Focus II. Portrait panel, or *emblēma*, 34 1/4 in. (87 cm) square. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.

clinging dress (stressing her beauty and fertility), she carries the now-standard double cornucopia of Agathē Tychē and the queens. Egyptian viewers would have understood her as a worthy successor of the great Pharaonic Queens, such as Hatshepsut, and Greek ones as both a reincarnation of the great Arsinoe *and* as a new Aphrodite: Good Fortune incarnate, the herald of a new era of power and prosperity for her subjects of both races.



102. Faience wine jug (*oinochoe*), from a grave in Canosa (southern Italy). This libation jug, made in Alexandria for the ruler cult, shows the diademed Queen Arsinoe II (reigned 275–269) as the goddess Good Fortune (Agathē Tychē), carrying the regime's trademark double cornucopia (*dikeras*), which she designed herself. Standing between an altar and an aniconic image (*baitylos*) bound with garlands, she pours a libation from an offering dish, or *phialē*. The recipient is unclear: an Olympian; Alexander (to whose cult she and Ptolemy II, her brother and husband, were attached in 272 as Sibling Gods, or *Theoi Adelphoi*); or Ptolemy himself? At her death in 269, Arsinoe was deified in her own right and assimilated to Aphrodite. Faience, an ancient Egyptian invention, is a non-clay-based ceramic composed of crushed quartz or sand, seasoned with small amounts of calcite lime and alkali. A soda lime silica glaze of copper pigments creates the jug's distinctive, bright blue-green luster. H 12 3/4 in. (32.4 cm). London, British Museum.



103. Kleopatra VII Philopator Thea (reigned 51–30), black basalt statuette. Presented in canonical Pharaonic style, she wears a clinging, sheath-like dress and a Nemes headdress and triple cobra (*uraeus*); she carries an *ankh* (signifying strength, health, and eternal life) in her right hand and a double cornucopia (*dikeras*) in her left. Her crown, earrings, and inlaid eyes are missing. Evoking the glories of queens such as Hatshepsut (1508–1458) and her own great predecessor Arsinoe II, she is assimilated by the *dikeras* to the goddess Good Fortune (Agathē Tychē) and by her diaphanous clothing to Aphrodite. H 3 ft. 5 in. (1.04 m). St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.

8

DESIRE

The embodiment of Greek sexual love (*erōs*) and desire (*himeros*; *epithymīa*) was naturally the love goddess herself, Aphrodite. Her proxy was her son Eros, love personified, and their domain was the entire universe: gods, humans, and animals together. Around 350, the Athenian sculptor Praxiteles had revolutionized the images of both goddess (Figure 104) and offspring, with enormous consequences for Hellenistic and later Western art.

THE KNIDIA

Housed on a windy crag high above the Mediterranean in a colonnaded rotunda that perhaps symbolized her universal power, and set on a chest-high base, Praxiteles' statue was almost 7 feet (2.04 meters) tall, and stood at Knidos for almost 800 years. Taken to Constantinople in the fifth century AD, it soon perished in a fire, but hundreds of ancient reproductions (Figure 104), together with many ancient texts, allow us to visualize it in detail.

We encounter the goddess after her bath. About to don her cloak, she stands stark naked for the first time in mainstream Western art. Her equivalent, the Near Eastern Ishtar/Ashtart, had appeared in this guise for thousands of years, so it can be no coincidence that this Aphrodite was commissioned by a Greek seaport then under Persian rule; located on the cusp between Greece and the East; linked in cult with Aphrodite's birthplace at Paphos in Cyprus; and frequented by both Greek and Phoenician sailors. (The latter presumably dedicated the dozens of little terracottas of Ashtart holding her breasts found in the sanctuary.)



104. Aphrodite of Knidos, tinted plaster cast of a Roman version in the Vatican after the Parian marble original by Praxiteles, ca. 360. The head is from another copy, and the strut is the copyist's addition. Coin images and about half of the 300 or so extant copies

Since her cult title was Euploia, "of the fair voyage," she was no newborn just emerged from the sea foam, but a sailor's goddess, fostering tranquil commerce, intercourse (*mixis*), and harmony between Greece and the East, and (as the goddess of all liquids, especially the sea foam, or *aphros*) bringing fair winds, a calm sea, and a prosperous voyage.[1]

Moreover, modeled (we are told) on Praxiteles' mistress, the great courtesan (or *hetaira*) Phryne, the Knidia brilliantly referenced the ancient Near Eastern concept of the naked love-goddess as the ultimate courtesan. For her glance – significantly directed off to the side – was "melting" and her smile was "proud, a grin that just parts the lips." These features were completely new in the genre and the key to her meaning and impact. While a naïve spectator would see only a beautiful, naked goddess nonchalantly shielding her genitals and turning away from him,[2] a perceptive one would sense a *second* visitor to the shrine: someone off to the right at whom she looks and smiles.

The drachma drops. Could this unseen intruder be Aphrodite's irascible, implacable lover: the blood-soaked, man-slaughtering … Ares?! ("Run away! Run away!") Hence her (presumably) pre-coital bathing ritual, no mere fictional excuse for her nudity, but an integral part of her erotic mythology since Homer. A Hellenistic epigram indirectly confirms this reading, concluding that "the sculptor's chisel carved her just as Ares would have wanted her"; and the Slipper-Slapper (Figure 99), which substitutes a randy Pan for Ares, supports it, too.

This teasing strategy of simultaneous invitation and rejection is precisely that of the love triangle. Ancient Greek courtesans, or *hetairai* – beautiful, independent, clever, and witty women of the world – specialized in them. Like the goddess's sheer size and cultic setting, it affirms her independence

104. (*continued*)

show her lifting her cloak more decisively off the pot, which is often much smaller, like a perfume jar. Setting a trend, Praxiteles chose Parian marble, presumably because it best reproduced Aphrodite's flawless complexion and seduced the eye with its crystalline translucency. His favorite painter, Nikias, perhaps executed the polychromy. Aphrodite's lips and nipples were gently rouged and her eyes and eyebrows painted, too. Her cloak was purple; her pot and double-wound hair band (a love charm, or *kēstos*) were gilded; and her jeweled armband gilded and inlaid. Nikias, a master of shading, would have discreetly tinted her skin to enhance Praxiteles' subtle modeling. H 6 ft. 8 1/3 in. (2.04 m).

1 One wonders: If Felix Mendelssohn had known this, would he have dedicated his overture bearing this title to her?

2 All replicas of the Knidia and her successors leave the genital area blank. Ancient writers confirm that elite women and courtesans often plucked and/or shaved their pubic hair, but the omission of the labia is anomalous in an art so dedicated to naturalism, especially because Athenian vase painters had often discreetly indicated them. Examination of the copies for paint traces in this area has so far proven inconclusive, so the problem remains unsolved.

from us, her viewers, even as her nudity and alluring posture hold out the possibility of a relationship. Like the local allusions of the Aphrodite from Melos and Damophon's cult group at Lykosoura (Figures 7, 94–95), it allows us to *connect*, but only at a distance.[3]

As a result, the Knidia's nakedness no longer necessarily implies weakness and vulnerability, as with ordinary mortal women, but divine autonomy and power exercised through sexual choice. For Praxiteles understood that when the spectator is conventionally gendered male and femininity is synonymous with weakness and passivity, the sovereign, independent, female subjectivity that a goddess *must* possess could only be constructed by moving outside convention. It could only transpire outside the "normal" woman's strictly regulated social progression from virgin to wife. And that meant turning to the demimonde: to the world of the *hetaira* and her Near Eastern counterparts. Like Aphrodite, Ashtart, and Ishtar, these women also straddled the boundaries of the social matrix. They inhabited a liminal space that allowed them a modicum of social and sexual choice.

Linking Greece and the East, and located physically between them and temporally between the age of the *polis* and Alexander's conquests, the Knidia spoke eloquently to Greek and Easterner alike – but not equally to both, for (as was the case later with the Sarapis: Figure 97) her form and setting were purely Greek.

SOME HELLENISTIC SUCCESSORS

Once Praxiteles had invented the female nude and rendered it respectable, the floodgates were open – which is not to say that *all* Hellenistic Aphrodites are naked. Far from it. Many, such as the Venus de Milo (Figure 7), are teasingly half-draped (another Praxitelean invention, en route solving the practical problem of a heavy marble torso supported on delicate, and thus easily broken, ankles). Moreover, until the Roman period, the conservative Athenians, for example, shunned both the naked and topless types entirely, despite their inventor's fame and nationality.

The Knidia's most influential successor, however, was the Capitoline-type Aphrodite (Figure 105). Persuasively attributed to Praxiteles' son Kephisodotos, and made probably around 300, it cleverly develops the Knidia's erotic narrative and contextualizes it more sharply. As befits a bather, the goddess has now shed her jewelry, and her hair is in slight disarray. Her hairdo itself is more complex and formal than the Knidia's, for she has pulled two long locks back over the fillet and tied them in a reef knot on the top of her head. Several others, however, have escaped to cascade down her shoulders.

3 Predictably, however, one lovelorn idiot failed to get the point. Hiding overnight in the temple, he assaulted her, staining her thigh, and was found there in the morning, gibbering mad. Making the punishment fit the crime in a spectacularly Freudian manner, the enraged Knidians promptly tossed him over the cliff behind the temple to perish in the sea foam below.



105. The Capitoline Aphrodite, Roman marble copy. The vase (an Athenian, late classical nuptial *loutrophoros*) and an echo of the type on a case-mirror from a grave of ca. 300 at Elis, near Olympia, date its lost Greek original to the late fourth century and suggest an identification with the marble Aphrodite by Praxiteles' son Kephisodotos (active ca.

(*continued*)

So this is an elegant coiffure that has been disturbed by the goddess's removal of her clothing, the act of bathing, or her sudden movement. It is a sign of a woman caught *en deshabille*. All this makes particular sense if – as the *loutrophoros* at her side indicates – Aphrodite is preparing for her wedding. A wedding vase, it emphatically characterizes the scene as a prenuptial toilette. Moreover, because apparently the *loutrophoros* was exclusively Athenian and all but disappeared after 300, it becomes the most likely adjunct to the original composition, and thus helps to date it. No Roman copyist would – or indeed could – have chosen on his own initiative to include it, since by then it had long vanished out of sight and out of mind.[4]

Because the goddess has draped her cloak over this vase and is turning and beginning to bend toward it, presumably she has already poured the water it contained into a basin; has undressed and washed herself; and has returned to it in order to dress again. Yet whereas the Knidia had already picked up her cloak and (in most of the replicas) started to cover herself with it, the Capitoline Aphrodite ignores it even as she begins to swivel toward the intruder, hunch her shoulders, and cover herself with her hands. (Evidently she never learned to lock the door.) By having her left hand shield her genitals instead of her right, the sculptor creates a wall of verticals on this side of the composition that reinforces her defensive posture.

Who are these other putative participants in the narrative, and where might it be taking place? The lucky bridegroom for whom the goddess is preparing herself must be Hephaistos; no other candidate exists. So the setting must be Mount Olympos, and the intruder should once again be Ares. Some lines of Ovid penned in the context of the goddess's affair with Ares describe her reaction in precisely this way, and a series of Roman-period coins of Amaseia in Pontos even show a Capitoline-type Aphrodite (presumably a replica) shielding herself from him in this same manner. Her defensiveness shows that this must be his first encounter with her in the buff – ironically, on the very morning of her wedding to his brother. Yet even so, she betrays no other hint of fear or apprehension: the reaction of a true Olympian and a hint of the steamy affair that would soon follow?

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105. (*continued*)

350–290), later in Asinius Pollio's art collection in Rome. Known in more than one hundred full-scale copies, the type was popular on Roman coins of Anatolia. The goddess's lips and presumably also her nipples would have been gently rouged and her eyes and eyebrows painted also, like the Knidia's (Figure 104). Her elegant, fringed cloak would have been purple and her *loutrophoros* and hair band gilded. H 6 ft. 4 in. (1.93 m). Rome, Musei Capitolini.

4 The composition is borrowed for a bathing nymph on a bronze case-mirror from a grave dated around 300, confirming this late fourth-century date for the statue (see Stewart 2010, in the bibliography to this chapter).



106. Crouching Aphrodite, Roman copy after an original of ca. 250–150. The goddess fixes her hair after her bath, as Eros raises a mirror for her (its handle alone remains). As on Athenian red-figured vases and the aforementioned Elean mirror (see caption to Figure 105), she would have showered either under a conduit from a stream or reservoir, or a pot of water poured over her by a nymph. The type, also popular on Roman coins of Anatolia, is often attributed to one Doidalsas of Bithynia, a scholarly concoction from a textually corrupt passage of Pliny. H 3 ft. 4 1/4 in. (1.02 m). Naples, Museo Nazionale.

The location and function of the Capitoline type's original are opaque. The *loutrophoros* suggests Athens or Attica, but as mentioned earlier, all surviving classical and Hellenistic Athenian Aphrodites in the round are decorously draped. Its later Hellenistic offshoots include the famous Medici Aphrodite, which was signed by a first-century Athenian and exported to Italy. The rediscovery of these statues during the early Renaissance soon led to the genre's reinvention by Botticelli, whose *Birth of Venus* of 1486 announced the rebirth of the female nude in Western art and an obsession that shows no sign of abating.

Soon one enterprising sculptor produced a well-padded, crouching version of these naked types (Figure 106). The prominent spare tires around the goddess's midriff have earned her the irreverent nickname of the Michelin Aphrodite.

Having just bathed (like her predecessors, Figures 104–5), she reaches up to fix her hair with her right hand, while her left lies limply over her raised left thigh. This hair-fixing motif first appears in fifth-century vase painting and was monumentalized by Apelles in the late fourth century. His Aphrodite Anadyomene, or Aphrodite Rising from the Sea, was among the most famous paintings of antiquity. Also supposedly modeled on a courtesan (whether Phryne or another), this Aphrodite was a goddess of Nature rather than Culture, newly born off Cyprus and completely innocent of clothing, jewelry, and other civilized accessories. Taken to Rome by Julius Caesar for dedication in his new temple of Venus Genetrix, the picture soon rotted away and is now known only through versions in the round (Figure 107). Like the Capitoline and Medici types, though, they too inspired emulations by Renaissance and later artists, from Titian to Ingres to Chassériau to New York's John Currin (1998).

The Croucher must have been a major votive, not – given her posture, profile schema, and sharply averted head – a cult statue like the Knidia. Many of the copies include an Eros at her back, even (as was once the case in Figure 106) giving him a mirror for her to look into. Possibly its original came in two versions: one with Eros and one without, the latter perhaps admiring her own reflection in a pool.

The sculptor's conceit is that Aphrodite's failure to detect him has enabled him to show what she is "really" like, innocent of any male presence. He has achieved what she herself had suspected of Praxiteles – as one Hellenistic epigrammatist put it, "When did he see me naked?" – but what the Knidia's instinctive gesture of modesty belied in practice. And he has discovered that everything about the goddess is extreme.

Although observing the protocols of grooming, and thus of culture, this Aphrodite is captured in a state of nature, ostensibly displaying a perfect, unaffected blend of natural modesty and natural sexuality embodied in a physique that is far more opulent, even earthy, than her predecessors' (Figures 104–5). The goddess's cupped posture both renders her body all but impregnable and creates a tempting concavity for us to probe. Thus beckoned, we encounter a rolling landscape of flesh that nevertheless hides the ultimate nook from our probing glance.

In consolation, though, this landscape both invites our eyes to caress and explore it, and evokes the full abundance of the female body for the first time in Greece since the Orientalizing period of the seventh century, when buxom, naked goddesses of Near Eastern type had briefly swept the Aegean. This sculptor's candid camera (as it were) "proves" that his subject is naturally modest, fascinating, sexy, carnal, and alien: man's inverse and antithesis. Contrast the taut physiques and upright postures of the Hellenistic kings, warriors, and athletes (Figures 4, 31, 68). Much closer to her Near Eastern sisters than to the Knidia and Capitoline Aphrodite (Figures 104–5), probably she stood somewhere in Anatolia, where the type shows up on Roman civic coins and sarcophagi.



107. Aphrodite Anadyomenē, emerging from the sea and rinsing out her hair, late Hellenistic alabaster version possibly from Egypt after a fourth-century painting by Apelles. His supposed source of inspiration was the courtesan Phryne emerging naked from the sea at Eleusis during the Mysteries, in full view of the assembled worshipers. Dedicated in the Asklepieion at Kos (see Figure 163) and celebrated like the Knidia in many Hellenistic epigrams, it was taken to Rome by Julius Caesar and dedicated in his Temple of Venus Genetrix (from whom his family claimed descent). After it rotted away, Nero (reigned AD 54–68) replaced it with a copy by a certain Dorotheos. The statuette's sculptor added the tree trunk and drapery in order to strengthen it. H 12 in. (30.5 cm). Malibu, Getty Villa.

LOVE CHILDREN: EROS AND HERMAPHRODITOS

Praxiteles' Erotes (too numerous and too poorly preserved in copy to include here) were precocious, sexy adolescents, but the little Eros behind the Croucher is typically Hellenistic: a chubby, mischievous little boy, the ancestor of the Italian Renaissance Cupid, cherub, and putto. In this guise he is not only Aphrodite's son, but he also invites multiplication – a move made at least by Alexander's reign, when the painter Aetion exhibited a picture for sale at Olympia that caused a sensation:

> The scene is a very beautiful chamber, and in it there is a bridal couch with Roxane, a maiden of extraordinary beauty, sitting upon it; her eyes are cast down in modesty, for Alexander is standing there. There are also some smiling Erotes. One, standing behind Roxane, removes the veil from her head, showing her to her bridegroom; another takes the sandal off her foot like a true slave, already preparing her for bed; and a third has grabbed Alexander's cloak and is pulling him with all his might toward Roxane. The king himself holds out a garland to the girl and their best man and assistant, Hephaistion, stands by with a blazing torch in hand, leaning on a gorgeous youth. His name isn't inscribed but I think that it's Hymenaios.[5] On the other side of the picture are more Erotes playing with Alexander's armor. Two of them are carrying his spear, shown like laborers staggering under the weight of a beam; two more are dragging a third who reclines on his shield – their king, no doubt – holding it by the handgrips; and another has sneaked inside his breastplate, which is lying face up on the ground – he seems to be waiting in ambush, so as to scare the rest when they drag the shield past him.

This witty skit about Alexander's supposed conversion from War to Love, liberally spiced with putti, generated many imitations (e.g., Figure 108). It also inspired the best and most famous of all Italian Renaissance wedding pictures: Il Sodoma's spectacular fresco of 1517 for the banker Agostino Chigi's bedroom in the Villa Farnesina in Rome, which was mentioned in Chapter 3.

This iconographic inflation soon accelerated, even producing flocks of such putti suspended from ceilings like mobiles. Third-century examples include the Tomb of the Erotes at Eretria and a tableau of the Dying Adonis in the royal palace at Alexandria, hymned by the great contemporary poet Theokritos. The tomb, built for the local Macedonian garrison commanders and their wives, yielded at least thirty little terracotta Erotes, painted and gilded, brandishing items such as flutes, lyres, garlands, and vases, and

5 Hymenaios: God of marriage.



108. Fragmentary fresco from a house on Delos, ca. 150–100. A bride sits on a curtained bed, attended by two Erotes with (apparently) a huge, upside-down cornucopia. At left, a third Eros leans a shield against a tree; at far left, another figure's flexed arm is visible. Frescoed friezes and terracottas of putto-like Erotes playing, working, driving chariots, and so on, were popular in Hellenistic houses. Delos Museum.

perforated for suspension on strings, as if they were actually flying. And at Alexandria, above Adonis (Aphrodite's pet squeeze), lying on his silver deathbed:

> In the gloom
> Of foliage climbing high, and downward weighed
> By graceful blossoms, do the young Loves play
> Like nightingales, and perch on every tree,
> And flit to try their wings from spray to spray.

Hellenistic variations on the putto are legion. Because desire pervades all human life, in addition to wielding his trademark bow and arrows, he is shown sleeping, laboring, playing, running, hunting (Figure 119), fighting, and even flaunting the attributes of Herakles and others (Figure 109). For Love conquers all, even – again and again – the superhero himself.

Such conceits cast the Praxitelean adolescent Eros, so influential in the fourth century, into the shade. Not until the second century, when



109. Eros wearing Herakles' lion skin and probably once resting his hand on the hero's club, polychrome terracotta statuette, first century, said to be from a grave at Myrina in western Anatolia. The pose of the right arm may quote the Lysippic Farnese Herakles (Figure 63), and the composition may play on Lysippos's statue of a dejected Herakles stripped of his lion skin and weapons by Eros, now lost but celebrated in a Hellenistic epigram. H 15 3/4 in. (40 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



110. Eros courting Psyche (identified by the wing sockets in their backs), polychrome terracotta group, first century. Also said to be from Myrina, and a popular funerary offering because of their commitment to eternal love and happiness together and their triumphs over multiple setbacks. Eros, echoing a famous statue of Pothos (Longing) by the fourth-century sculptor Skopas, embraces Psyche and fondles her breast, while she cuddles his shoulder and sways toward him in a "hip-slung" pose that was ultimately derived from Praxiteles and popular on Hellenistic Aphrodites (see Figures 7, 104). H 12 5/8 in. (32.1 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



111. Sleeping hermaphrodite, Roman marble copy (one of several) after a second-century original often identified with Pliny's mention of a "noble hermaphrodite" in bronze by the distinguished Athenian sculptor Polykles. Unfortunately, no fewer than four sculptors of this name are attested, all related and active during the second century. The front view, below, reveals the figure's startling bisexuality. L 4 ft. 10 1/4 in. (1.48 m). Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo).

neoclassicism began to take hold across the board, did he become popular again. Now, in a tale that by definition excluded the putto, he courts and wins the beautiful Psyche (Figure 110: wing-sockets in their backs confirm the identification), in a boy-meets-girl, boy-loses-girl, boy-finds-girl-again romance most brilliantly retold by the Roman author Apuleius. This pair is one of several found in tombs, for reasons that should be obvious.

Hermaphroditos, on the other hand, is always adolescent (Figure 111). Aphrodite's child by Hermes, s/he was worshiped in Athens from the fourth century BC in a cult that soon spread elsewhere. Either s/he was born hermaphroditic or – in a variant known from Ovid and perhaps invented by him – as a boy, who soon attracted the attentions of the nymph Salmacis. The boy rudely rebuffed her, whereupon she begged the gods to conjoin them forever, and Figure 111 was the spectacular result. The distinguished second-century Athenian sculptor Polykles created a "noble hermaphrodite" in bronze, according to Pliny, and a contemporary marble one has been found at Pergamon.



112. Hermaphrodite fighting off a satyr, Roman marble copy (one of several) of a second-century original probably in bronze. The hermaphrodite, formerly seated on the satyr's lap or knee, fights off the would-be rapist by stiff-arming him in the face and toppling him by the foot, and has almost succeeded in pushing him over. The joke and consequent double take is orchestrated in the same way as in Figure 111, with this (back) view paramount. Now, though, the hermaphrodite's genitals are visible only from the side, and the group is emphatically bifacial, with abrupt transitions between back and front. This tends to dissuade one from walking around it and so prolongs the joke. H 36 in. (91 cm). Dresden, Albertinum (Skulpturensammlung).

Figure 111 sets up a classic double take. Approaching the figure from the back, we see only a beautiful young woman, sleeping somewhat poorly with her left foot and arm entangled in her cloak. Tempted to check out her charms from the other side, and perhaps to sample them for ourselves, we immediately recoil in shock: Breasts, OK, but a boner, too! Some even believed that hermaphrodites could be uncontrollably violent when aroused – slumbering volcanoes that would raise the temperature of the joke considerably. Roman painters eagerly embraced all of this, including the incorrigible Pan as voyeur and would-be rapist (compare Figure 99). This compounds the joke, because (a) even he might now at last meet his match; but (b) in a painting, the sleeper's other side is forever inaccessible to us. Perhaps s/he is a nymph, after all.



113. The Hermaphrodite and satyr (Figure 112) seen as one begins to walk around it, which reveals the hermaphrodite's startling bisexuality.

EROTICA

The same raunchy humor pervades several Hellenistic erotic groups. Called by the Greeks *symplēgmata* ("entanglements") but again known only in Roman reproduction, apparently they were shunned by the ancient critics, and their original contexts are a mystery. Were they dedications to Aphrodite or Dionysos, for example, or mere garden sculptures?

Approaching the so-called Dresden *symplēgma* (Figure 112) from either side, we first see what looks to be a typical struggle between a nymph and satyr. Yet as we begin to walk around it (Figure 113), we realize that once again the "nymph" has a penis: Whoa! Another hermaphrodite! Reaching the other side (Figure 114), we realize that the ostensible victim (now sans penis again, refeminizing "her") actually has the upper hand, and we begin to reconstruct the story. Presumably the hermaphrodite once was seated happily on the satyr's lap or knee, but when the latter could no longer contain himself and attempted a "back-alley" incursion, s/he fought back and now has almost succeeded in pushing over the satyr. He, too, has met his match: an androgyne.



114. The Hermaphrodite and satyr (Figure 112) seen from the other side, which conceals the hermaphrodite's bisexuality again.

Yet in both this case and the last (Figure 111), a deeper meaning may lurk. Ambiguous and impenetrable (at least conventionally) by definition, the hermaphrodite may embody not only each sex's equivocal feelings about the other, but also the ultimate impossibility of understanding the other's feelings about sex itself: As soon as we think that we "know" the hermaphrodite, it immediately confounds us.

Most Hellenistic erotica, however, are more straightforward. No paintings survive, but they must have existed (the surviving frescoes are all Roman, but are too typecast not to have been derived from earlier archetypes). Since red-figure vase painters had rejected erotica after 400, and the technique had died by 300, this leaves only the occasional relief vase, terracotta, bronze, and gem. One of these, however – an early Hellenistic bronze case-mirror from a tomb in Corinth (Figure 115) – uniquely shows two scenes of athletic sex in which the woman is definitely the protagonist, accompanied in each case by a flying Eros proffering a victor's crown.

From the "lioness" position engraved on its silvered interior (Figure 115B), this mirror has been connected with Demetrios Poliorketes' favorite *hetaira*, the big-ticket courtesan Leaina, "The Lioness," who famously



115. Cover of a bronze case-mirror, reportedly from a grave in Corinth, ca. 325–300. The cover's exterior relief, a masterpiece of metal embossing (*toreutikē*), at which many Greek sculptors excelled, would have been repeatedly heated, or *annealed*, to soften the metal and make it more elastic; placed face down on a bed of soft clay or wax; gently hammered out in the negative; and then engraved ("chased") from the front. The second roundel, soldered onto the cover's interior, was first silvered, and then engraved. In each case, the woman is the protagonist, and a flying Eros rewards her sexual prowess with a crown. The so-called "lioness" position on the interior has suggested that the mirror's owner was the courtesan Leaina, "The Lioness," a favorite of King Demetrios Poliorketes (336–283). Diam. 6 7/8 in. (17.5 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

specialized in this very position (hence her nickname). In 304 the Athenians, anxious to flatter the king, allegedly even rededicated a temple of Aphrodite to her and to another favorite of his, the courtesan Lamia.

In any case, whether this object belonged to Leaina or some other woman (for in this culture, mirrors were exclusively women's objects), it evidently celebrated such skills as a female ideal. It thus spoke to its owner somewhat as the naked Aphrodites (Figures 104–7) may have spoken to their many female devotees: Namely, that to catch and keep the object of one's desire, one must cultivate at least some of the skills of a *hetaira*. Female passion for men (husbands included) is a staple of classical Greek and Hellenistic literature, and as the third-century Syracusan poetess Nossis bluntly asserted, "Nothing is sweeter than desire. All other delights are second." Most revealingly, in a papyrus fragment of New Comedy contemporary with Figure 115, a bride-to-be speaks ardently of "the mutual covenant between man and wife: He must love her always, until the end, and she must never cease to do what gives her husband pleasure."

As a result, since many Greeks agreed that women experienced far more pleasure during sex than men did (although, typically, no one could agree exactly how much more), perhaps a few women were not ashamed to own objects that recognized this fact.

FOCUS II

HELLENISTIC MOSAICS

Because most Hellenistic painting is lost, and what remains is mostly funerary and uneven in quality and distribution, mosaics constitute the only surviving, high-quality pictorial corpus that can stand comparison with its best sculpture (see, for example, Focus I: "The Great Altar"). Moreover, although mosaic production in the Greek world predated the Hellenistic age by a century, only during this period did two key techniques reach their apogee, namely, pebble and tessellated mosaic: reason enough for a focused study.

MACEDON: THE MATURITY OF PEBBLE MOSAIC

Although many pebble mosaics have been recovered from Macedonian palaces and houses, two roughly contemporary sets at Pella, dated to the last quarter of the fourth century, justly stand at the forefront of the art. Both houses, which – *excluding* their upper floors – cover a staggering area of 25,300 and 32,300 square feet (2,350 and 3,000 square meters), are better called luxury mansions and must have belonged to elite – probably military – families massively enriched by Alexander's conquests. Only the Macedonian royal palaces at Pella and Vergina surpass them in size.

The two sets were made for the same contexts and overlap in subject matter, but were produced by different workshops, each of which tackled its task somewhat differently. All the mosaics are associated with banquet rooms, or *andrōnes*, and were tailored explicitly to male viewers. The figured panels faced the room's entrance and the host, or *symposiarch*, who would be reclining on his left elbow immediately to the right of the doorway, lying like his



116. A lion hunt, pebble mosaic from an *andrōn* in House I.1 at Pella in Macedonia, ca. 325–300. Against a black background, two naked men battle a lion. The palette is restricted to black, white, red, and yellow, with intermediate shades for nuance and lead strips to outline bodies, limbs, and significant details. Several fourth-century painters, among them the great Apelles, used this conservative "four-color" technique. Yet this mosaic is far closer to tinted drawing than to the Alexander Mosaic (Figures 3, 37), which uses a similarly restricted palette and sometimes is also attributed to Apelles. Contemporary versions of the composition in other media suggest dependence on a common source, perhaps a royal monument of Alexander's. 10 1/2 × 16 ft. (3.2 × 4.9 m). Pella Archaeological Museum.

guests on a banqueting couch or *klinē*. From there he could easily scan the entire room, mosaic, diners, dinner, and all.

House I.1's mosaics, both situated in *andrōnes*, comprised a lion hunt (Figure 116) and a Dionysos riding a panther; threshold panels of a griffin and its prey and two centaurs; and anterooms floored with simple, geometric patterns. House I.5, although slightly smaller, was richer and featured a huge Abduction of Helen; a stag hunt signed by Gnosis (Figures 117–18: the earliest mosaicist's signature); an almost completely destroyed mosaic in a third *andrōn*; and an Amazonomachy decorating an anteroom between two more.

These three major themes of battle, hunt, and abduction/rape recur on Macedonian tomb paintings (see Figures 123, 147–48) and are repeated, inter alia, in the literary sources describing the monuments that celebrated Alexander's exploits, not to mention in the Alexander Mosaic itself (Figure 37). Together, they vividly illuminate this warrior culture's particular construction of masculinity. Although not congruent (enemies and lions can kill you, but deer and women probably will not; deer are edible, lions and women are not; women can be abducted and impregnated, but lions, deer, and enemies – Amazons excepted – cannot be; and so on), each is phallic and heroic in its own way, at least to the Homerically obsessed Macedonians.



117. *Andrōn* in House I.5 at Pella in Macedonia, seen from the doorway, ca. 325–300. In the foreground, a threshold decorated with lozenges like a doormat opens onto a pebble mosaic of a stag hunt surrounded by a floral frieze and waves. Signed by Gnosis in Athenian dialect, the central panel shows two naked men killing the stag, accompanied by a hunting dog. Whereas earlier mosaicists had carefully stressed the floor's surface or had breached it only timidly (Figure 116), Gnosis offers a carefully graded progression from the flat lozenges and waves of the threshold and border (closest to the diners), through the limited depth of the floral frieze, to the hunt itself, deployed as if on a narrow stage against a black curtain. This sequence visually prepares the guests for the hunt's illusionism instead of suddenly opening a window onto the world – a virtual chasm – beneath their feet. Mosaic 10 1/2 × 10 1/3 ft. (3.24 × 3.17 m). Pella, in situ.

(Alexander famously slept with a copy of the *Iliad*, in which all three themes figure prominently, under his pillow.)

Accordingly, here "the visual emphasis is on the hero, an irresistible aggressor who succeeds in what he sets out to do and whose body effortlessly establishes hegemony over the pictorial field. Compositional principles, furthermore, proclaim the heroic self as the active, 'speaking' subject, whereas the adversarial Others are envisioned as passive, helpless, or startled and overwhelmed by the hero's sudden burst of energy." These themes, then, cohere precisely in the hero, onto whom the client and his guests project themselves while sampling that most elite of Macedonian pleasures, the all-male drinking party, or symposion.

As for technique, in the first set (Figure 116), overlapping is minimal and the style linear, perhaps taking its cue from the conservative painter



118. Central panel and part of the floral surround of the stag hunt, pebble mosaic, signed by Gnosis, ca. 325–300 (Figure 117). The tendrils, a mixture of acanthus and a variety of flowers and fruits, sprout from two huge calyxes at opposite corners of the surround. The wave motif (popular for borders) expands the symposion's ambience to the ends of the earth and surrounding Ocean and anticipates its bibulous "voyage" to a successful conclusion (a familiar sympotic metaphor). The florals promise that the party will be rich and fruitful, and the central panel announces the menu. 10 1/2 × 10 1/3 ft. (3.24 × 3.17 m). Pella, in situ.

Parrhasios, active around 400. The background is a uniform black; bodies are white or cream, and together with selected muscles and facial features, they are outlined by thin lead or terracotta strips that resemble the relief lines of fifth-century red-figure vase painting. Strips of gray and brown pebbles, always subordinate to contour, create shading both for individual muscles and for whole bodies. Yellow, orange, and reddish pebbles are used for accents, and variegated black, beige, yellow, and white ones are used for ground lines. The aesthetic is quasi-pointillist; one's pleasure is quickened by the diverse textures, hues, and sheen of the pebbles (and, later, the *tesserae*)[1] and by watching the scene and its components resolve and dissolve again as one moves around the room or bends over to take a closer look.

The second set of mosaics (Figures 117–18) is more adventurous and pictorial, closer perhaps to the work of Parrhasios's great rival, Zeuxis, a master of chiaroscuro. It experiments with more complex overlapping and three-quarter views; dramatic, momentary effects (billowing cloaks and a flying hat); fewer lead and terracotta contour strips; and more subtly variegated colors for both highlights and shadows. The pebbles are more carefully sorted for color and size, and the background ones are more loosely packed than those used for the figures. In both sets of mosaics, the eyes are missing and must have been inlaid in glass or semiprecious stones. Resembling large, colored carpets, they fulfill their function admirably.

THE THIRD CENTURY: INVENTING THE *TESSERA*

Pebble mosaics did not cease with the new century: far from it. They endured in one form or another for two more, spreading as far as Ai Khanoum in Baktria, where a particularly fine floral one graced the governor's palace. Leading practitioners of the art, however, were already focusing their energies in a quite different direction.

Several early to mid-third-century mosaics in Sicily, Greece, and Pergamon abandon pebbles either partially or entirely, substituting chips discarded from marble workshops and small pieces of specially cut limestone, slate, and other stones, either separately, in combination with each other, or even together with pieces of terracotta and glass. These materials offered a much wider range of colors, shades, and textures; new opportunities for three-dimensional effects and calligraphic patterning; and a smooth, continuous surface that was far more resistant than pebbles to dirt and wear.

A (probably) mid-third-century mosaic from Shatby near Alexandria (Figure 119) takes the final, decisive step. A play on the Macedonian hunting scenes discussed above (Figures 116–18), it shows three putto-like Erotes hunting, surrounded by animal and interlace borders. In keeping with the light-hearted mood, none of the surrounding animals attacks or even threatens the others.

1 Small cubes of cut stone or glass.



119. Erotes hunting a stag, partly tesselated mosaic from the *andrōn* of a house in Shatby (near Alexandria), ca. 275–250. In the central panel, three putto-like Erotes attack a stag, surrounded by a garland of vine leaves like those that the dinner guests would wear; a frieze of animals (some edible, some not, and some recognizably exotic); and an interlace, or *guilloche*, border. The threshold was decorated like a doormat with a bead-and-reel molding surrounded by a key motif or meander. Cut stones are used throughout, some cubic (i.e., true tesserae), others not; pebbles are used for accents; lead strips define contours, internal details, and attributes. The palette is very restricted, as in Figure 116. 13 × 17 ft. (3.95 × 5.25 m). Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.

Small cut stone tesserae now dominate the composition, properly squared for the borders, more irregularly shaped for the background and figures. Specially cut stones are employed for eyes, noses, teeth, and many of the ornamental motifs, and pebbles are used for textured accents, such as hair and animal manes. Lead strips still define contours, internal details, and also the subsidiary ornaments. Both the beige tesserae used for shading and the white ones echo these contours, and the latter also delineate muscles and features.

A generation later, Sophilos, the author of the Berenike mosaic from Thmuis (Figure 101), shows that all the implications of this have been thoroughly digested and a completely new manner invented. His tesserae range from about one-quarter of an inch square in the borders to an amazing one-twentieth of an inch square *or less* in the portrait panel. This panel, in turn, is no longer simply light on dark but fully pictorial and realized in a staggering range of colors. Simply to acquire such a huge variety of stones was a major feat of petrological research and procurement. The background is a nuanced blue, orange, and white, and over a dozen shades are employed for the flesh

tones alone, including contrasting ones such as gray-green to heighten the effect. Lead strips are used only to outline the naval flagstaff and the geometric borders.

Finally, and most importantly, Sophilos has patterned his tesserae in a manner that echoes the calligraphic brushstrokes of the Ptolemaic court painting that surely was his source of inspiration. (A second version of the picture, also from Thmuis but somewhat coarser, confirms this.) With his work, then, inaugurating what Romans would later call the *opus vermiculatum*, or "wormy," technique (its Greek name is unknown), the rivalry, or *agōn*, between mosaic and painting first glimpsed at Pella (Figures 116–18) has reached its climax. Predictably, the Pergamene kings soon followed suit. Some beautiful, but sadly fragmentary, garland and wildlife mosaics from the palaces (see Figure 124) show that the *vermiculatum* technique was popular there by around 150, and presumably the famous Unswept Floor and Doves mosaics by its native son, Sosos, known in many versions (Figure 16) and noted with approval by Pliny, utilized it also.

LATE HELLENISTIC MOSAICS AND DELOS

By the late second century, virtuoso practitioners of the *vermiculatum* technique were active also in Roman Italy. Among the ever-increasing throng of Greek craftsmen either forcibly taken there by victorious Roman generals or lured there by the skyrocketing wealth of the lords of the West, they worked mainly around the Roman elite's prime vacation spot: the Bay of Naples.

The Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii (Figures 3, 37) is a case in point: a tour de force of *opus vermiculatum* that employs over *3 million* tesserae but – unlike Sophilos's – restricts itself almost entirely to the austere four-color palette used in its putative fourth-century original. It is, however, but one of a dozen such virtuoso floors in this vast, sumptuous 26,500-square-foot (2,500-square-meter) mansion, the so-called House of the Faun.

Their subjects range from marine and river life (Mediterranean and Nilotic) to a putto-like Eros riding a tiger and the inevitable *symplēgma* of nymph and satyr, to a splendid frieze of Dionysiac tragic masks and garlands that nicely complements a contemporary comic one from Dor in northern Israel (see Figure 131). We shall revisit the latter in Chapter 9, together with the Nile Mosaic from Praeneste near Rome (see Figures 129, 136–38), another tour de force of *opus vermiculatum* from this period.

The largest corpus of late Hellenistic mosaics, however, comes not from republican Italy but from Delos (Figure 53), whose conversion into a free port in 166, noted in Chapter 4, soon turned it into a boom town. Over 350 mosaics have been found there, utilizing the entire gamut of techniques discussed here. Most of them decorated rich private houses, where they often embellished the interior courtyards, adjacent dining rooms (*andrōnes* or *oeci*), and even the upper floors.



120. Dionysos or a devotee (the sex is unclear) carrying a cymbal (*tympanon*) and ritual staff (*thyrsos*) and riding a leopard, tesselated *opus vermiculatum* mosaic from an *andrōn* in the House of the Masks on Delos, ca. 130–88. Two Centaurs (not shown) flank the pair, accompanied by floral crowns and garlands. A frame of rays and waves encloses the three panels, leaving room for seven diners' couches beyond. Compared with earlier *opus vermiculatum* mosaics (Figures 101, 124), the palette is simpler and the composition more stylized, with the tesserae laid in linear designs and the drapery folds formalized into calligraphic patterns. The panel is slightly askew, showing that it was prefabricated in a specialist's workshop elsewhere and inserted into the floor: a common late Hellenistic practice. Panel 3 1/2 ft. (1.07 m) square. Delos, in situ.

Dionysiac subjects were particularly popular, among the finest of which is a flamboyant and famous *vermiculatum* panel of the god or one of his devotees (the sex is not quite clear) riding a leopard (Figure 120). It is one of several mosaics from the so-called House of the Masks, a huge mansion near the theater that may have been an actors' residence or club. (The actors' guild, the Dionysiac Artists, was ubiquitous in the Hellenistic world and a generous patron of the visual arts: see, for example, Figure 52.) Over 20,000 square



121. Tesselated mosaic in the colonnaded courtyard of the House of the Dolphins on Delos, ca. 130–88. Signed by [Askle]piades from Arados (modern Arad) in Syria. An almost 10 ft. (3 m) square crenellated border surrounds a circular panel of two concentric rings of waves separated by a key meander, a ring of sea monsters, a ring of flowers, and a complex central rosette. In each corner of the square, a tiny putto-like Eros rides a pair of dolphins, carrying a *thyrsos*, caduceus, or trident (the fourth is missing): emblems of Dionysos, Hermes, and Poseidon, respectively. The tesserae used for the putti are also tiny, around 1/20 of a square inch, as opposed to the 1/4-inch ones used for the rest of the mosaic. Delos, in situ.

feet (1,880 square meters) in area, this mansion included no fewer than four dining rooms off its main court and another one off a subsidiary court.

No less theatrical, but in a completely different way, is a unique circular mosaic flanked by little winged putti carrying attributes of Dionysos, Hermes, and Poseidon and riding dolphins, signed by one [Askle]piades from Arados in Syria (Figure 121). Iconographic references to this area occur elsewhere in the house, suggesting that its owner may have also hailed from there: a Phoenician merchant or sea captain?

9

LUXURY

As will be evident by now, the Hellenistic world – or at least much of it – was enormously rich, for Alexander's conquests had flooded it with treasure. The Persian capitals of Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae alone had yielded more than 150,000 talents (about 4,000 tons) of gold and silver bullion,[1] not to mention a fortune in coin and precious metal vessels. Much of this soon went into circulation in the form of gifts and benefactions, military pay, and outlays for construction projects. (Building all those Alexandrias cost money.) It was this vast haul, augmented by loot from the king's subsequent campaigns, those of his successors, and massive exactions from the conquered, that fueled the Hellenistic world for two centuries and, from 200, also began to flow westward to Rome.

Schooled by Aristotle that self-regulation is a cardinal virtue and liberality a technology of power, Alexander himself was personally quite austere but could be overwhelmingly generous when the occasion merited it. As Chapter 4 showed, such generosity creates and cements friendships, generates obligations, reinforces one's status, and hugely impresses others. (Thus, when asked by an impecunious friend for dowries for his daughters, Alexander gave him fifty talents; advised that ten would be enough, the king replied, "Enough for you to accept, but not enough for me to give.") Yet several of his successors – and their followers – were much less self-controlled.

The culture of luxury and opulence (*tryphē*) that had already begun to emerge in fourth-century Greece thus received a massive boost, swamping the old egalitarian ideal of personal restraint in all but a few staunchly

1 For comparison, in July 2013, U.S. gold reserves totaled almost 13,000 tons.

conservative places, such as Athens. And just as Hellenistic desire (Chapter 8) registered itself under the sign of Aphrodite, so did Hellenistic luxury under the sign of Dionysos (Focus II; Figure 120).

For example, Demetrios Poliorketes, never a shrinking violet, was a lifelong devotee of the god, "since he was most terrible in waging war, but afterward most skillful in giving peace its pleasures and joys." A connoisseur of luxury and its delights, Demetrios had most of his clothes woven with gold and commissioned a cloak that was not-too-subtly embroidered with the solar system. (Annoyed, the gods saw that he never got to wear it.) At his court and those of his rivals, embroidered and purple-dyed clothing soon became standard, and along with fine Egyptian linen and flax, Chinese silk soon began to appear also.

As for Ptolemaic Egypt, naturally rich in gold, copper, and semiprecious stones, we have already seen this opulence (*tryphê*) exemplified in the Tazza Farnese (Figure 1). It swiftly developed into a cult, under the patronage of (no prizes for guessing!) Dionysos, who conveniently was also the regime's supposed divine ancestor. Three Ptolemaic princesses even adopted the moniker Tryphaina.

POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE

Greeks had held open-air religious processions and public feasts – often quite extravagant affairs – since time immemorial. The quadrennial Athenian Greater Panathenaia is the best documented but was far from unique. The Hellenistic kings needed no reminder of the propaganda potential of such events. Vastly impressive spectacles in their own right, they also stamped the royal territories with ritual symbols of dominance.

In the winter of 280/279, Ptolemy II Philadelphos inaugurated a splendid festival in Alexandria dedicated to his parents, the Ptolemaieia, that outshone them all. A description by the contemporary author Kallixeinos (see Appendix B), preserved in the writings of the third-century AD Alexandrian writer Athenaios, shows that the festival included an extravagant procession and a lavish banquet in a specially constructed pavilion (discussed later in this chapter). Ptolemy modestly declared the festival *isolympic*, or "equal to the Olympics" in status, and invited every Greek state to send delegates.

The procession blended an Egyptian harvest festival, a Greek religious pageant, and a political/military parade. Framed by the Morning and Evening Stars and apparently touched throughout by Midas, it included sections dedicated to the deified Ptolemy I Soter and Queen Berenike; to Zeus and the Olympians; and to Alexander.

Dionysos's section (Appendix B) was the richest, as befitted the regime's divine ancestor and revered patron of their success. Loaded with gold, silver, and jewels, it featured crowds of men dressed as satyrs, together with boys and women dispensing wine, grape juice, and milk from golden vessels for the thirsty onlookers; masses of golden wine jars and sacrificial implements; legions of incense bearers; the Dionysiac Artists (the actors' guild); huge

gilded and decorated floats bearing colossal golden Nikai and scenes from the god's life, accompanied by a vast menagerie of exotic African and Asian animals and birds; a colossal, mechanical statue of Nysa, his nurse; colossal statues of Alexander, Aretē, Ptolemy, Priapos, and Corinth, followed by women impersonating the Ionian cities liberated by Alexander; a 90-foot silver spear (symbolizing Alexander's "spear-won" territory); a 135-foot golden *thyrsos* (the god's sacred staff); and even a 180-foot golden phallus! (As the historian Peter Green once drily remarked, how did they get it around corners?)

Alexander's section featured the conqueror himself, Athena, and Nike in gold on an elephant-drawn chariot; floats bearing gold and ivory thrones, a colossal double cornucopia, and thirty-foot-high eagles;[2] and sundry colossal golden objects with dynastic and militaristic overtones, including sacrificial implements, eagles, crowns, thunderbolts, an *aegis*, a huge suit of armor, and masses of gold and silver plate. A vast army followed.

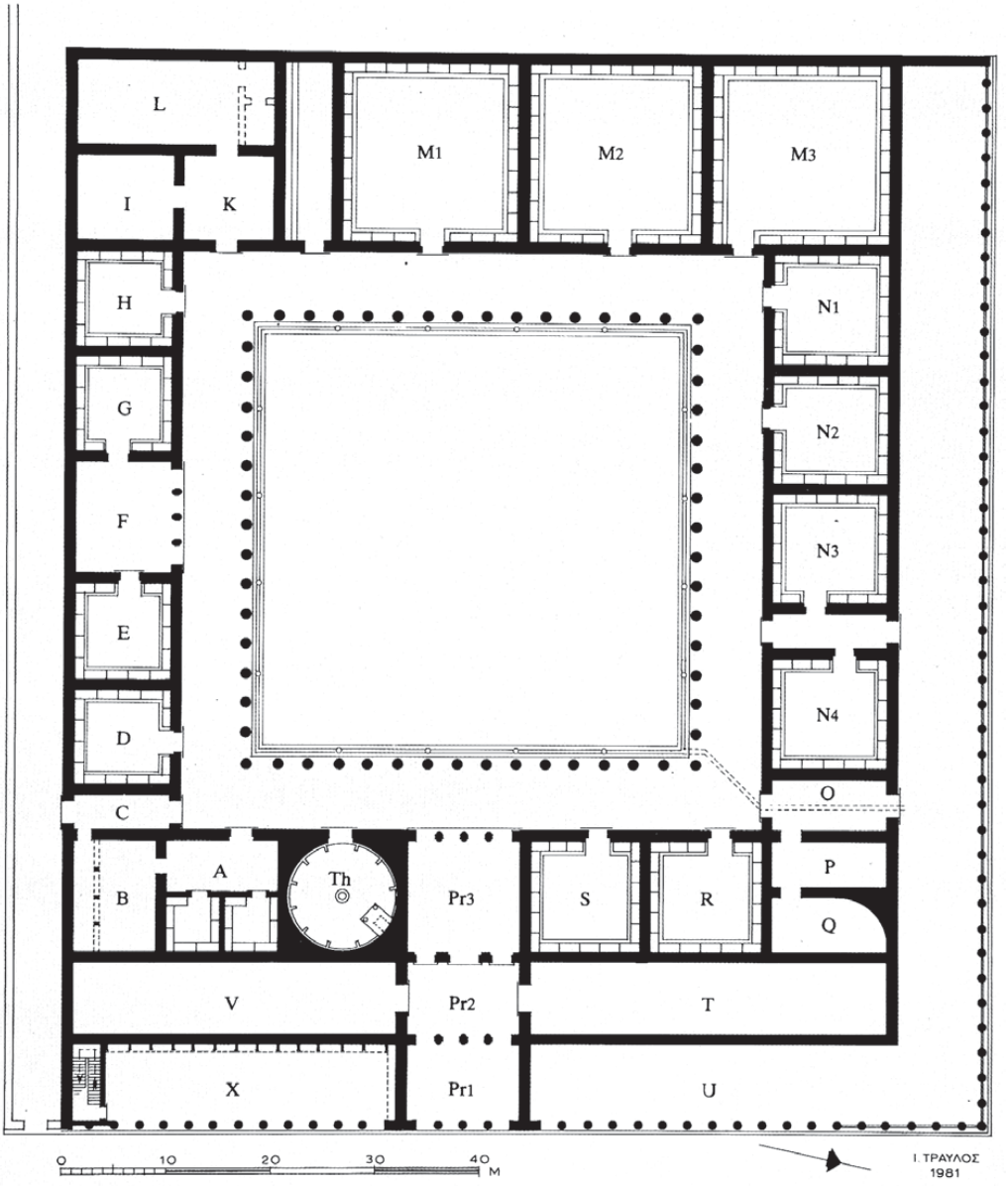
PALACES

All of this pomp and splendor has vanished (although the Derveni krater offers a faint and distant glimpse of it: see Figure 146), so archaeologically the most obvious signs of this top-down Hellenistic culture of luxury are the emergence of the palace as a distinctly Greek architectural form and a trickle-down effect into domestic architecture (Focus II). Multipurpose buildings dedicated to conspicuous consumption as a way of proclaiming the kingdom's power and wealth, these palaces soon generated their own art forms to indulge the privileged and to dazzle visitors. Alexander was not, of course, the first Macedonian king to own one (the great painter Zeuxis had frescoed a predecessor), but the latter either lie beneath their Hellenistic successors and have not been excavated, or remain undiscovered.

The palace at Vergina (ancient Aigai), constructed perhaps under Alexander's regent, Antipatros, or his son, Kassandros (ruled 315–297, the last seven of these years as king), is a case in point (Figure 122). Almost 100,000 square feet (9,250 square meters) in area, it stands in a strategic location on a hillside overlooking the royal cemetery and the vast, fertile Macedonian plain, while densely forested hills that still offer excellent hunting rise behind it. A veranda on two sides offered stunning views of the plain, the main source of the kingdom's agricultural wealth and manpower.

The palace itself was built of stuccoed, sun-dried brick on limestone foundations, with limestone columns, pillars, and doorjambs, and marble doorsills. It surrounds a huge Doric courtyard (*aulē*) that is 21,500 square feet (2,000 square meters) in area. A circular shrine of the dynasty's ancestor and the kingdom's protector, Herakles, stood beside the main entrance,

2 Both the double cornucopia and the eagle were potent Ptolemaic symbols and were regularly featured on their coinage. The double cornucopia was invented by Ptolemy's wife, Arsinoe II.



122. Plan of the palace at Pella, Macedonia, ca. 300. Facing east and measuring 290 × 340 ft. (88.5 × 104.5 m), it is a traditional courtyard house on a grand scale, surrounded on two sides by colonnaded verandas overlooking the Macedonian plain. Behind a monumental, two-storied, tri-columned Doric porch, a succession of three 30 ft. (9.1 m) wide anterooms (Pr. 1–3) and three stout doors on a massive 28 ft. long (8.5 m) marble threshold framed by Ionic piers led visitors to its Doric central courtyard, 182 ft. (55.5 m) square. A rotunda (*tholos*) dedicated to Herakles and fifteen banquet rooms (identifiable by their offset doors) surrounded the courtyard. They range from (A) a cozy 270 sq. ft. to a palatial 3,250 sq. ft. (M1–3: 25 m^2 to 300 m^2), and could accommodate between seven and thirty diners. On the south side, (E, G) a presumed "royal suite" was accessible only from (F) a colonnaded loggia, affording a degree of privacy.



123. Façade of the Great Tomb at Lefkadia, near Vergina in Macedonia, ca. 300–275. The stuccoed limestone façade, almost 30 ft. (8.6 m) high, imitates the entrance to a Macedonian palace like that in Figure 122. Doric below, Ionic above, and pedimented, it was brightly painted. Between the columns, from left to right, a dead warrior is introduced by Hermes to Aiakos and Rhadamanthys, judges of the dead. The door between them leads to a vaulted antechamber and burial chamber. The metopes carry a Centauromachy in monochrome, and the frieze above them depicts a battle with the Persians; the pedimental painting is too damaged to identify.

but the rest of the ground floor mostly housed banqueting rooms, or *andrōnes*, including a three-room royal suite (two *andrōnes* separated by a pillared loggia) at the center of one side. Wooden staircases led to the private quarters and guest rooms on the upper floor. What little survives of the elevation shows that the colonnaded entrance somewhat resembled the façade of the ostentatiously palatial Great Tomb at nearby Lefkadia (Figure 123).

The protocols and practices of Macedonian – and thereby Hellenistic – court society go far to explain this design, repeated with variations throughout the Hellenistic world except where Persian hierarchical traditions remained

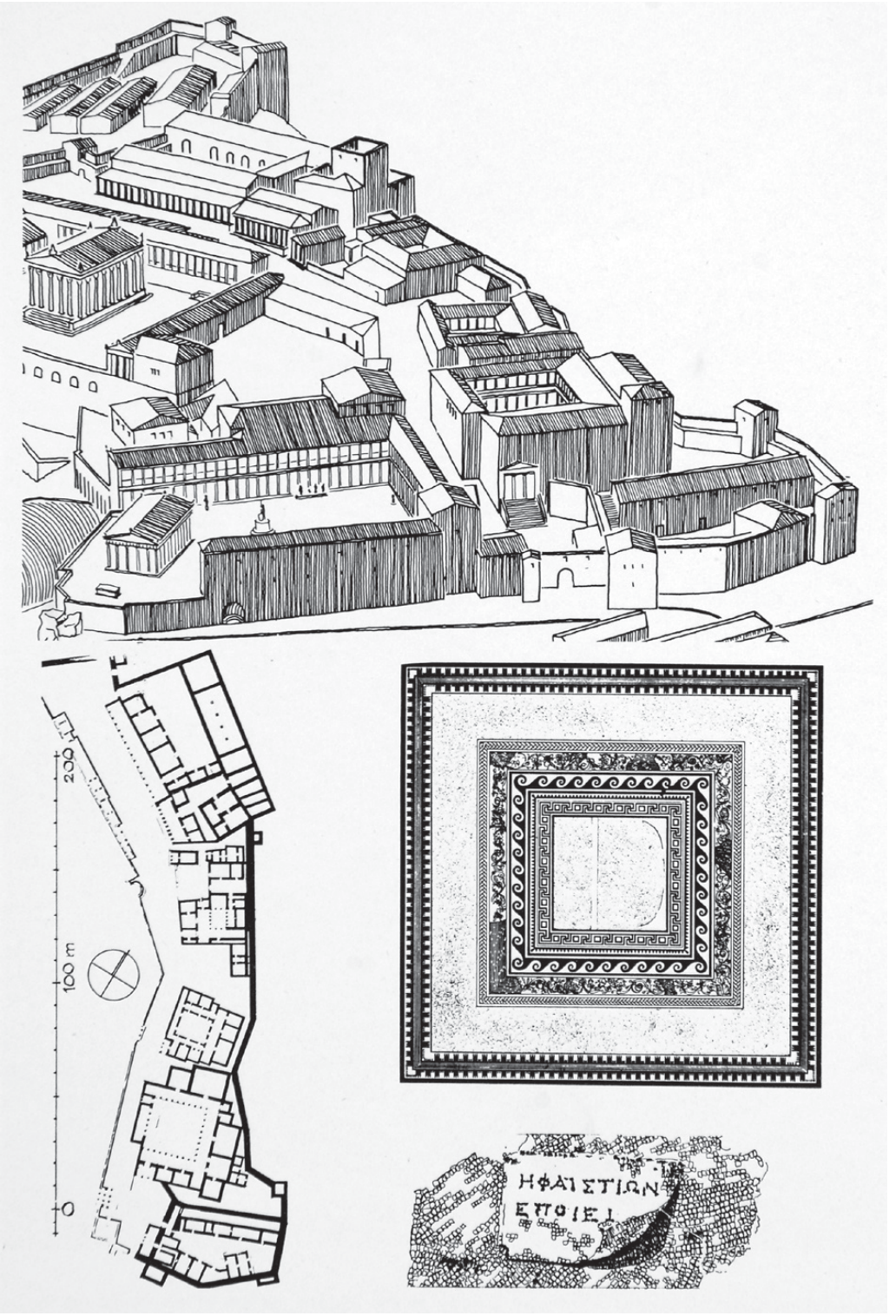
strong, such as at Ai Khanoum in far-off Baktria (Figure 20).[3] Unlike the Persian kings, Macedonian ones were first among equals, at least nominally, surrounded until Alexander's death by coteries of "companions" (*hetairoi*) and after it by coteries of "friends" (*philoi*), like the Homeric heroes they claimed as ancestors. (Alexander himself, it will be remembered, boasted descent from Herakles on his father's side and Achilles on his mother's – a winning, if explosive, combination.)

Yet although the nomenclature changed, practices did not. Besides the royal family, its pages, and its bodyguards, the Hellenistic courts consisted entirely of these "friends" and their own cliques of hangers-on, and it was to them that the array of *andrōnes* around the Vergina palace's courtyard evidently catered. Indeed, the standard Hellenistic term for a royal court was precisely "those around the courtyard (*aulē*)." As in the "smoke-filled rooms" of nineteenth- and twentieth-century London, Paris, Berlin, and Washington, it was in these *andrōnes* that policies were planned, alliances forged, and plots hatched. The courtyard itself hosted court ceremonies, endless streams of petitioners, and whispered conversations out of earshot of one's rivals.

In the third century, a smaller palace was built next door to this one, presumably to house a later, lesser member of the dynasty or a particularly powerful queen. Piecemeal augmentation of this kind was standard practice. The sprawling palace complex at Pella, although badly destroyed and incompletely excavated, included at least six such courtyard buildings, covering a stupendous 650,000 square feet, or 15 acres (60,000 square meters, or 6 hectares; evidently the family couldn't stand each other). The complex at Pergamon (Figure 124), although far smaller because of its cramped location on the akropolis, included five such palaces, erected in turn presumably by Philetairos, Eumenes I, Attalos I, Eumenes II, and Attalos II (Attalos III reigned for only five years). At Alexandria, gardens and parks surrounded the Ptolemiaic palace at Lochias, now underwater.

This Alexandrian palace has yet to be fully surveyed (although it has yielded much Egyptianizing sculpture), and the palace quarter at Antioch lies deep under the modern town, but both must have been sumptuous. Fortunately, Ptolemy IV's magnificent late third-century river barge, also described by Kallixeinos (see Appendix B), gives us some idea of the Alexandrian palace. A huge catamaran 300 feet long, 45 feet wide, almost 60 feet high, and Greco-Egyptian in style, it was colonnaded both outside and inside. Its two superimposed decks housed, inter alia, two encircling promenades; two large, three medium-sized, and four smaller *andrōnes*; and even a rotunda, or *tholos*, like the one at Knidos, complete with a marble Aphrodite (see Figures 104–5). Gold and ivory capitals and friezes, exotic stones, fragrant woods, purple hangings, and marble portraits of the royal family completed the decor.

3 Fronted by a vast, colonnaded court and entered by a deep, pillared hall, this palace was designed on the autocratic Persian model of Persepolis and Pasargadae. Its constituent sections resemble labyrinths, progressively restricting access to the seat of power and increasing one's sense of awe and privilege as one approached it.



124. The palace area of the citadel at Pergamon (Figure 13). At the edge of the citadel (top and upper right) stood a barracks and a series of palaces, each with a two-storied, colonnaded courtyard. Below right: a mosaic from an *andrōn* in Palace V, probably that of Eumenes II or Attalos II, with the signature of the mosaicist Hephaistion.

Perhaps reflecting a gradual contraction of the kings' privileged inner circle, not to mention a desire to keep a stronger grip on their "friends," later Hellenistic palaces contain only one or two large *andrōnes* and a handful of small ones. Moreover, whereas the Vergina palace was largely built of plastered mud brick and its embellishment was apparently quite austere (if the two surviving pebble mosaics and some modest fresco and stucco fragments are any guide), the Pergamene ones were completely of stone and, as we have seen (Figures 16, 124), richly embellished with *opus vermiculatum* mosaics, wall paintings, and perhaps sculptures, too.

MANSIONS AND HOUSES

As one would expect, Hellenistic mansions often resemble small palaces, especially early on, although later their colonnaded courtyards (usually Doric, as in the palaces) contract, and their rooms proliferate. Stone construction throughout is common where supplies were plentiful. Mansions I.1 and I.5 at Pella and the House of the Masks on Delos, whose splendid mosaics occupied our attention earlier (Focus II; Figures 116–18), exemplify these trends.

Ordinary private houses (Figure 125) differ from these monsters only in their scale and degree of embellishment. Yet even their sills and interior colonnades are often made of marble, and when the colonnades are two-storied, they are usually Ionic above Doric. Column shafts are faceted or left completely unfluted; as in the stoas (Figures 50–51), this kept wear and tear to a minimum. Because water was a precious resource, roofs drained into the courtyard, beneath which a rock-cut, arched, or even vaulted underground cistern (accessed via a marble wellhead) kept the supply clean and cold. Square footage is hard to calculate, since upper floors are usually lost or at best incompletely preserved, but on Delos, for example, the range is roughly 5,400 to 16,000 square feet (500 to 1,500 square meters).

For comparison, it has been calculated that houses in nineteenth-century England averaged around 500 to 600 square feet for the vast majority of the lower middle class; 2,000 to 3,500 square feet for prosperous gentlemen farmers and the wealthiest members of the commercial, clerical, and professional middle classes; and more than 10,000 square feet for the greater gentry, aristocracy, and London's richest financial, professional, mercantile, and manufacturing families. My own Californian house, a typical wooden, colonial-style, two-storied, middle-class, three-bedroomed one built in 1904, is but 1,600 square feet in area. Domestically, the Hellenistic world – or at least much of it – had little to complain about.

As for embellishment, figured and geometric mosaics (Figures 101, 119–21) are not uncommon, though far outnumbered by monochrome ones made of marble chips. Walls are often frescoed and enhanced by stucco moldings; sometimes this work imitates cut stone revetments and even engaged colonnades, and occasionally includes figured friezes (Figure 126; Erotes, as seen in Figure 108, were especially popular). These architectural styles soon spread to Italy, where they are conventionally called the Pompeian First and

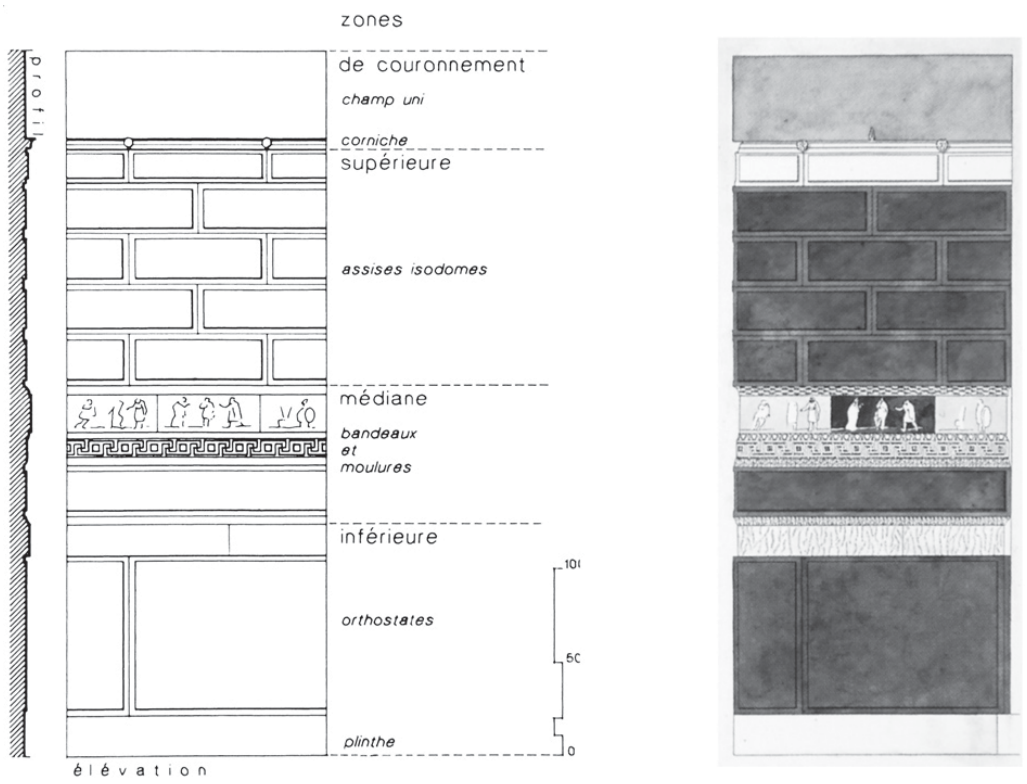


125. House of the Hermes at Delos, second century, seen from the east. Named after an archaizing herm discovered inside, the house is terraced on a spur of Mount Kyntheion and faces northward (to right) toward the sanctuary of Apollo and city center. On the ground floor, an L-shaped corridor (in the foreground), flanked by a kitchen and bathroom, leads to the colonnaded Doric central courtyard. Spanning the entire height of the house, at ground floor level this courtyard fronts a broad *andrōn* served by two pantries. Between their doors, a statue, now lost, stood on a base signed by Praxiteles. A small dining room and a shrine to a water nymph occupied the court's remaining two sides. Stone staircases led to two, or perhaps three, upper floors, visible at upper left; the number of rooms totaled at least twenty-four.

Second Styles, respectively, because when they were discovered (and for a long time thereafter), their Hellenistic antecedents were still unknown.

Marble domestic sculpture, usually but not always under-life-size, is found in quantity on Delos and at Pompeii and Herculaneum, but is rare elsewhere (e.g., at Priene and Pergamon) and almost completely absent in the East, although terracotta evidently substituted for it in some places. Bronzes are also rare, perhaps because of their vulnerability to looting and recycling. As one would expect, Dionysiac and erotic themes are common, but other relevant ones do occur, such as the Muses, assorted herms, and even full-size marble portraits of the house's owners.

Finally, furniture. Texts, paintings, models, stone copies in tombs, and the occasional surviving piece show that high-end furniture could be very

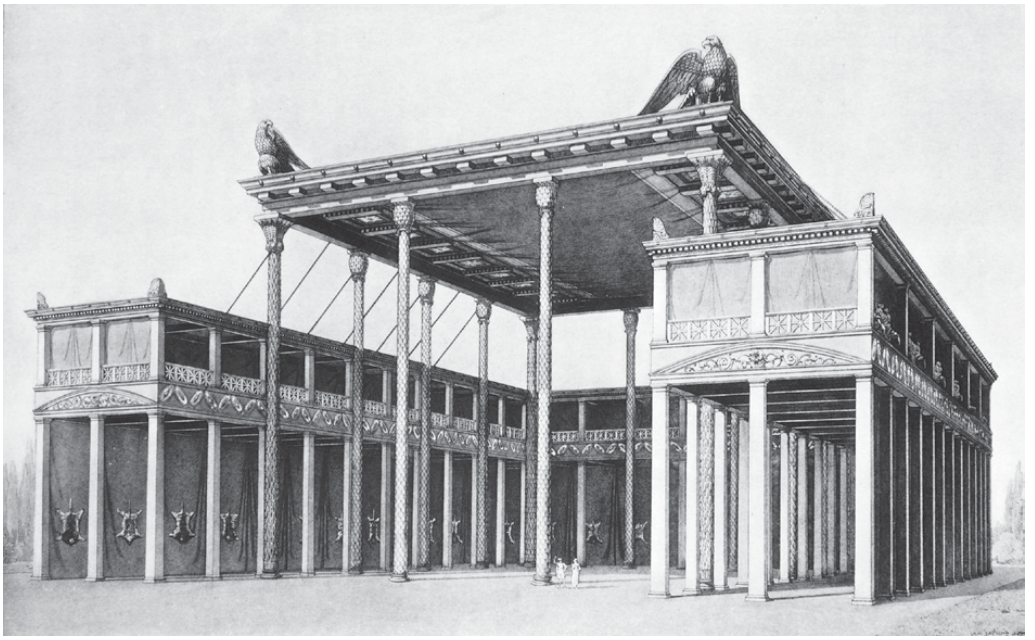


126. Reconstruction of a frescoed wall from the House of the Comedians at Delos, ca. 150–88. Lines scored in the wet plaster divided the wall into four zones and defined the decorative scheme, which imitates marble veneer. From below: (1) a lower zone of square orthostates bracketed by ashlars; (2) a middle zone with a miniature figured frieze, positioned at eyelevel and bracketed by ornamental bands and moldings; (3) an upper zone of equally coursed (isodomic) ashlars; (4) a molded cornice with an attic zone above. H 12 1/2 ft. (3.8 m).

elaborate indeed: turned, carved, painted, inlaid, and even embellished with bronze, ivory, silver, or gold appendages, all exquisitely cast or embossed. A Turkish pasha, antebellum Southern plantation owner, or Victorian gentleman might have felt quite at home.

MEN: EAT, DRINK, AND BE MERRY

At the beginning of this book, an exquisite sardonyx cameo drinking bowl, the Tazza Farnese (Figure 1), introduced the Ptolemaic culture of opulence (*tryphê*), festivity, and good living. Ptolemy II's great festival pavilion, built for privileged guests at the Ptolemaieia (see the beginning of this chapter and Appendix B), sets it vividly in context – albeit in reconstruction only (Figure 127). Its mixed Greco-Egyptian form, one hundred gold and ivory dining couches or *klinai*, exotic hangings, lavish art and theatrical displays,



127. Reconstruction by Franz Studniczka (1914) of Ptolemy II Philadelphos's festival pavilion of 279, after Kallixeinos's description (translated in Appendix B). A huge Π-shaped tent furnished with one hundred sphinx-footed, gold and ivory dining couches, it was supported by 75 ft. poles resembling palm trees and Dionysiac ritual staffs (*thyrsoi*), festooned with Egyptian fruits and flowers. Its surrounding colonnade, accommodating an army of waiters and busboys, was embellished with purple curtains, cloaks embroidered with mythological scenes and Ptolemaic portraits, exotic animal hides, one hundred fine marble statues, and Old Master paintings. Above it, golden tripods framed niches housing displays of Greek theatre characters dining off gold plate. Heraldically arranged golden eagles more than 20 ft. high served as *akrotēria*. Costly tapestries covered the dining couches, and each guest was supplied with two golden tables and a golden place setting.

profusion of Ptolemaic emblems, and last but not least a staggering 10,000 talents (over 250 tons or 258,000 kg) of gold plate and utensils, set the tone.

Extravagance on such a vast scale was rare, of course, but even lower down the social ladder, dining facilities and their furnishings could be lavish. The late second-century Nile mosaic from Praeneste near Rome, a major document for our understanding of Ptolemaic Egypt that will engage us further in Chapter 11, illustrates two such events (Figure 129; see also Figure 138).

One party (Figure 129) takes place apparently in the pleasure gardens of the Canopus, ten miles east of Alexandria on the road to the famous temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Cape Zephyrion that was mentioned in Chapter 7. A wicker bower spanning a canal or tributary of the Nile is festooned with grape vines and furnished with long dining couches on each side. Men and women recline on thick cushions and drink from drinking horns (*rhyta*) and cups (compare Figures 1, 128, 130) while musicians entertain them, and



128. Silver-gilt stag drinking horn, or *rhyton*, made in the first century, perhaps in Syria, where these had been popular from Persian times. This masterpiece of metal embossing was raised mostly from a single sheet of silver (only the stag's antlers, ears, and forelegs, and the missing drinking spout between the latter, were cast separately and soldered on). It is valued by weight (2 lbs./0.9 kg) at about 208 drachmas, at least 52 days' pay for a mercenary soldier and double to quadruple an ordinary worker's earnings. The stag's body (its belly inscribed in Aramaic) is separated from the drinking horn by a collar, from which springs an acanthus calyx that bursts into exuberant and botanically impossible life. A trefoil band topped by a palmette frieze encircles the rim, which is decorated with a wave pattern. The *rhyton* thus reprises the festive iconography of the Gnosis Mosaic (Figures 117–18), but does so two centuries later, in another medium, and on a smaller scale. H 10 3/4 in. (27.4 cm). Malibu, Getty Villa.



129. Detail (segment 19) of the Nile Mosaic from Praeneste (modern Palestrina), Italy, ca. 125–100. Located apparently in the pleasure gardens of the Canopus, east of Alexandria, a wicker canopy spanning a canal or tributary of the Nile is festooned with grape vines and furnished with dining couches on each side. Men and women recline on cushions and drink from *rhyta* and cups (compare Figures 128, 130), while musicians entertain them and an Egyptian fisherman laboriously poles his canoe of reeds, laden with his catch, toward the city. 36 1/2 × 40 1/4 in. (93 × 102 cm). Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

(to belabor the point) a sweating, half-naked Egyptian fisherman obliviously poles his canoe of reeds, laden with his aquatic catch, toward the city. (No doubt he had had enough of drunken Greeks.)

A second party (see Figure 138) unfolds under an awning in front of a temple with a typically Alexandrian curved pediment festooned with garlands. A great golden punch bowl, or *krater*, for the wine stands by a table laden with silver *rhyta*, each terminating at its spout in a griffin, sea-horse, lion, stag (Figure 128), or other creature, while a contingent of soldiers stockpile their shields and stand in line for drinks.



130. Gold-glass drinking bowl, from a tomb of ca. 275–200 at Canosa (southern Italy). Part of a dinner service including a mosaic glass dish and six more glass bowls and cups, this sandwich-glass bowl was made in four stages. First, a colorless glass sheet was slumped into a mold to create an inner bowl, which was then embellished in gold leaf with an elaborate acanthus calyx and tendrils, and a double wave pattern above. Next, an outer bowl was slumped into a second, slightly larger mold, and finally fused to the inner one. The bowl partially reprises the iconography of the Gnosis Mosaic (Figures 117–18), but does so half a century later, in another medium, and at a miniature scale: compare the *rhyton* in Figure 128. H 4 2/5 in. (11.1 cm). London, British Museum.

More often, of course, such parties were held in private houses, in conventional dining rooms. As we have seen (Figures 116–20), these were often floored with mosaics and also stuccoed (Figure 126). Some of the mosaics (e.g., Figure 131) contributed directly to the party spirit. Here, a frieze of theater masks, one per couch, faced the diners. Bordered at the top by a key meander in illusionistic, three-dimensional perspective, it surrounded a central panel (*emblēma*) featuring the god Pan; unfortunately, of this panel only his throwing stick (*lagobōlon*) for killing rabbits and hares survives. The masks, worn on stage by characters in Hellenistic New Comedy, sport



131. Comic mask and garlands, fragment of an *opus vermiculatum* mosaic from the Phoenician port of Dor (northern Israel), ca. 150–100. A mask of a young man wears a rolled woolen fillet and an extravagant party hat decorated with ivy sprigs, all secured by an X-shaped blue ribbon. The mask blends two comic ones: the Delicate Young Man and the Second Floppy-Haired Young Man (Pollux's Mask List, nos. 13 and 16). Die-hard party animals, they spend too much time indoors: hence the mask's pale complexion. An exuberant floral frieze of ivy sprays, pinecones, olives, pomegranates, and roses links the mask with its (now-lost) neighbors and enhances this luxuriant Dionysiac atmosphere. The tesserae, in an astonishing variety of colors and sometimes less than 1/20 of a square inch (1 mm), are laid contour-wise and curve around the mask and florals in order to suggest their volume. H of frieze 17 in. (42.8 cm). Nachsholim (Israel), Hamizgaga Museum.

fantastic party hats and are linked by lush, iridescent garlands of multicolored fruits and flowers.

These mask friezes are found at numerous Hellenistic sites from the Levant to Italy. The visual equivalents of the floral "garlands" of symposion poetry "woven" for the Muses by Hellenistic epigrammatists, they are the successors to the garlands that commonly embellish classical and early Hellenistic symposion kraters. By garlanding the room to look like the banqueters themselves, they define it as a hospitable party space filled with the Dionysiac spirit and the altered state of consciousness induced by the god and his miraculous gift to humankind: wine.

WOMEN: A GOLDEN AGE

It should be evident by now that some Hellenistic luxury objects, like their classical predecessors, are strongly gendered. Kraters and *rhyta* (Figure 128), for example, are symposion vessels and were thus crafted specifically for men. Mirrors (Figure 115) and jewel or cosmetic boxes (*pyxides*: Figure 132) were made for women and were embellished accordingly.

Both sexes used engraved gems and cameos as ring-bezels and personal seals; favorite subjects ranged from royal portraits (Figures 24, 30) to Dionysos, Aphrodite (Figure 133), and their retinues. Men might also wear gold rings and garment pins as part of their attire and gold wreaths at banquets and festivals, some of which (as Chapter 10 will show: see Figure 149) were buried with them. All other jewelry, though, is gendered female. It could include gold hairnets (Figure 134), coronets, tiaras, diadems (Figure 135), earrings, necklaces, brooches, arm bands (see Figure 132), bracelets, rings (Figure 133), and even (for courtesans, dancers, and the personally daring) more exotic and eye-catching accessories, such as anklets, thigh bands, G-strings, breast-cups, and love chains, or *kēstoi*, worn crisscross across the naked torso.

Gold jewelry is more plentiful in the Hellenistic period than at any other time in the ancient world, except perhaps the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1200). The main locales, not surprisingly given the sources of this new wealth and its overall distribution by the third century, are Taranto in Italy, early Hellenistic Macedonia and its southern Greek garrison towns, and mid- to late-Hellenistic Egypt. Tombs provide most of the evidence. Many of the wreaths, hair bands, earrings, bracelets, and finger rings follow fourth-century traditions, and traditional techniques such as filigree, filigree enamel, and granulation also continue uninterrupted. Yet a number of new motifs, types, materials, and techniques now join them, elevating Hellenistic jewelry high among the artistic glories of the age.

New motifs include the putto-like Eros (Figure 134; compare Figure 108); the Herakles knot (a simple reef knot so called because Herakles used it to tie his lion skin's paws around his neck: Figure 135; compare Figure 109), which probably comes from Egypt and, as it did there, also functioned as an amulet; the disc, feather, and cow's-horn crown of Isis-Hathor; and the crescent, symbol of the moon goddess of Anatolia and thus, to the Greeks, of Artemis.

New types include sumptuous hairnets embellished with embossed busts (Figure 134); coronets such as the one worn by the Aphrodite in Figure 134; elaborate openwork diadems of Persian type and matching bracelets (both often using a Herakles knot as a centerpiece, Figure 135); human- or animal-headed hoop earrings; and chain necklaces with animal-head finials, hung with bud or spearhead pendants.

New materials and techniques include the embossing just discussed (Figure 134); the invention of dipped enamel, especially for earring pendants; and above all the use of colorful inlays to create polychrome effects that hitherto had been shunned almost completely (Figures 134–35). Archaic and



132. Silver-gilt lid (inner face) of a cosmetic box (*pyxis*), from the Tomba dei Ori at Canosa in southern Italy, ca. 250–200: a nymph rides a sea-dragon, or *kētos*. The box was made in three pieces: an embossed lower valve imitating a clamshell and an upper one in two halves, each embossed with a nymph on a sea dragon (*kētos*) whose eyes are inlaid with tiny red garnets. The two upper pieces were then soldered together and hinged to the lower one. Exotic cosmetics and perfumes such as Arabian myrrh were imported by sea, and the nymph evokes the box's owner. An epigram by the contemporary Alexandrian poet Poseidippos describes a similar box of mother-of-pearl, engraved with the nymph Aglaia ("Brilliant"). Diam. 6 1/3 in. (16 cm). Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico.



133. Gold ring with a red garnet intaglio from the Tomb of the Erotes at Eretria, signed by Gelon, ca. 250. Aphrodite stands in three-quarter back view with her shield, spear, and a cloak slipping enticingly below her buttocks. Although at first sight out of place on the battlefield (in *Iliad* 5 she flees weeping from it), she fights in the Gigantomachy from the sixth century, and her domain included all forms of desire and corporeal "mixing," from the sexual to the martial. In cult, this domain embraced not only the soldier's presumed love of battle, but also the *erōs* that bonded him to his fellow soldiers, his commanders, his homeland, and its rulers. This ring was thus doubly at home in a tomb built for a family of Macedonian officers and their wives, and could have belonged to either. H 1 1/8 in. (2.9 cm). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



134. Detail of a gold and garnet hair net, probably from Egypt, ca. 200. It consists of a medallion embossed with a little bust of Aphrodite and a tiny Eros; a patterned ring that clasped the base of the wearer's hair bun (see Figure 133 for this hairstyle); and a series of chains linking the two. The relief, raised from a single gold disk, was then engraved and embellished with filigree, granulation, and ribbons in concentric circles: tubes, palmettes, beads, crenellations, and finally more beads. Ornamental double-stranded gold and garnet tassels hang from the medallion and the patterned ring. The latter is decorated with an embossed, filigreed, and granulated vine-leaf chain, and a Herakles knot inlaid with red garnet. Diam. at base 3 1/8 in. (8 cm). Malibu, Getty Villa.



135. Gold and red garnet necklace, bracelet, and pendant from a second-century grave at Taormina (Sicily). All three are inlaid with garnets, and the pendant is suspended from a long gold chain. L of the crescent ornament 1 2/5 in. (3.6 cm). London, British Museum.

classical Greek jewelers had preferred a homogeneity of materials (gold, silver, or bronze) and had relied for variety almost entirely on the different patterns and textures that could be achieved by the various available techniques of casting, filigree, granulation, stippling, interlace, and so on. After Alexander, however, the use of glass, enamel, quartz, semiprecious stones such as chalcedony, cornelian, and especially red garnet (Figures 134–35), and even pearls, now became common.

Finally, on the rare occasions that a grave or hastily buried hoard actually yields a complete trousseau, a new level of iconographic complexity and coordination, and of magical, amuletic significance, can sometimes be glimpsed. For example, the exquisite gold and garnet tasseled hairnet featuring Aphrodite and Eros (Figure 134) comes with a gold coronet featuring a

once-inlaid Herakles knot and two flaming torches, decorated with acanthus and ivy leaves and hung with tasseled pendants; two gold finger rings with inlaid reddish sard and cornelian gemstones engraved with matching mirror-images of Tyche and Artemis; three pairs of gold earrings, one of which was inlaid with two tiny pearls and hung with putto-like Erotes carrying offering dishes (*phialai*), torches, and banners, and the other two of which were finished off with tiny antelope heads; two pairs of matching gold snake armlets and bracelets; and some fragmentary gold necklaces. Embossing, casting, filigree, granulation, and inlay all appear in abundance, sometimes on a truly microscopic scale. Unfortunately the collection was bought on the antiquities market, but items found in Egypt are closely comparable in many respects, and, as will appear, its iconography is persuasively Ptolemaic.

In this trousseau, then, the Herakles knot protects the wearer's head from harm and perhaps also references her Macedonian and thus Heraklid ancestry, while the torches evoke a cultic atmosphere – in particular, a Dionysiac one. The allusions may not be coincidental, for as we have seen, these two gods were the ancestors and guardians of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and personified its success. As for the other items, the prominence of the love goddess and her mischievous son needs no explanation, but in a Ptolemaic context where queens were identified with Aphrodite-Isis, it would acquire particular force. Finally, clinching the Ptolemaic connection, the Tychē cradles the regime's trademark double cornucopia, invented (as we saw) by Queen Arsinoe II (Figure 31). Artemis, too, was often evoked in the royal cult, which cast its net wide.

Although this magnificent collection probably belonged to a lady of the Ptolemaic court, rather than one of the queens themselves, its pearl earrings call to mind a telling anecdote. Pearls, imported from the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, were the most rare and expensive of Hellenistic jewelers' materials. In this regard, one source relates that the great queen Kleopatra VII (Figures 2, 88, 103) once bet Mark Antony, her formidable but intellectually challenged Roman lover, that she could consume a meal worth 10 million sesterces (1,666 talents) – alone and unaided. With his usual coarse guffaw (what on earth did she see in him?), he retorted that this sum would feed an entire city. So she promptly took a pearl from her earrings, dropped it into a cup of vinegar to dissolve it, drank the liquid, and exclaimed, "You've lost the battle!" With typical 20/20 hindsight, after Actium this offhand remark of hers inevitably became an omen of their defeat and suicides.

10

DIFFERENCE

Two key representatives of the Hellenistic world's Other – Persians and Celts – have appeared already in Chapter 3. There we saw that both texts and images, such as the Alexander Mosaic and Big and Little Barbarians (Figures 3, 37, 41–44), classify these barbarian assailants into two types: the sophisticated, bringers of tyranny, and the savage, bringers of chaos. Branching out, this chapter first examines the conquered and colonized, focusing on Egypt; then the Hellenistic underclass; and finally, the Roman intruders.

THE NILE MOSAIC AT PRAENESTE

The Nile Mosaic (Figures 136–38) is one of the largest ancient figured floor mosaics preserved – or it would be, if various misfortunes had not destroyed about half of it and severely damaged the rest. Laid around 125–100, it decorated the basilica of an enigmatic complex at the foot of the great hillside sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste (modern Palestrina), twenty-two miles east of Rome. Two obelisks found nearby, coupled with the presence of a Latin dedication to Isis-Fortuna (Tychē), suggest that the complex may have been dedicated to this composite Egypto-Roman goddess.

Although the mosaic is now a collage of nineteen separate segments, one of which has even found its way to Berlin (Figure 129), its overall layout is clear. At the top, expanses of sky frequented by ibises and herons canopy a rocky wilderness inhabited by wild animals and Africans. This is Ethiopia and Nubia, "land of the blacks." Other segments show this wilderness above and civilized life below (Figure 137: see the rhinoceros at right and the small enclosed temple and tower houses below it, respectively). They must come from the middle zone of the composition. The rest show a seacoast, harbor,



136. The Nile Mosaic, from Praeneste (modern Palestrina), near Rome, ca. 125–100; a much-restored version in *opus vermiculatum* probably of a Ptolemaic painting of ca. 280, showing the Nile in flood. Found in the 1580s, chopped up for transport to Rome in 1624–26, and restored there by the mosaicist Battista Calandra, it was returning to Palestrina in 1640 when it was badly damaged in an accident. Calandra then restored it again, using drawings made before the catastrophe (one set survives in Windsor Castle), and shrinking it by about fifteen percent, from an original 22 1/4 × 17 ft. (6.78 × 5.15 m) to today's 19 1/4 × 14 ft. (5.85 × 4.31 m). Above, Ethiopia and Nubia; below, Egypt and the Nile Delta, with an Egyptian temple at center right and the harbor of Alexandria at lower right. Palestrina, Museo Archeologico (Palazzo Barberini).

and the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 138 bottom right). Some features also bridge two or more segments, enabling their juxtaposition. Yet several key segments are still "floating," so what follows will not depend on any particular reconstruction, of which there are several.

The mosaic uses the now-familiar *opus vermiculatum* technique imitating the brushstrokes of contemporary painting. Labeled in Greek, it is crammed with persuasively Ptolemaic items, ranging from temples with curved pediments (ultimately inspired by the Pharaoh Zoser's third-millennium funerary complex at Saqqara) to characteristically Ptolemaic clothing, arms, and armor (compare the Alexander Mosaic: Figures 3, 37). On the native side, there is an impressive Egyptian temple (Figure 136) and authentically Afro-Egyptian animals, boats, houses, and so on (Figure 137).



137. The Nile from Ethiopia to Egypt, segments 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, and 15 of the Nile Mosaic (Figure 136). Above, Ethiopia and Nubia. Blacks hunt near a sphinx-monkey (*guenon*); other exotic animals include giant crabs and turtles, two spotted hyenas, and a giant rock

(*continued*)



138. A Greek temple and environs, segments 13 and 17 of the Nile Mosaic (Figure 136). At upper left, an Egyptian peasant poles a papyrus canoe before a crenellated wall (of a fortified villa?). To his right, a native mud-brick tower house with a monumental entrance stands on a large island beside a Greek-style sanctuary, featuring a garlanded temple with a curved pediment and *akrotēria* of the goddess Isis-Hathor. Before it, a party under an awning, with (from left to right) a gold krater full of wine and a row of drinking horns, or *rhyta* (see Figure 128) on a table; a messenger running in with news, presumably of a victory; soldiers preparing to celebrate; and a trumpeter saluting a majestic woman (a priestess or Nike?) who is holding a palm branch. At far right, the harbor of Alexandria with an Egyptian fishing from a papyrus canoe, a merchantman, and a warship. Palestrina, Museo Archeologico (Palazzo Barberini).

For these reasons, the mosaic has long been thought to echo a monumental Ptolemaic painting, perhaps celebrating Ptolemy II Philadelphos's expeditions up the Nile in the 280s. These stocked the Alexandrian zoo with the menagerie of exotic animals featured in his Festival Procession (see

137. (*continued*)

python, green monkey, giraffe, rhinoceros, river hog, and a toothsome hybrid incomprehensibly labeled XIOIG. Below, the Egyptian *chōra* – rich in papyrus, giant lotuses, and other native plants – with (from left to right) two obelisks and a woman standing before a Doric temple with a typically Alexandrian curved pediment; two women talking to an Egyptian fisherman holding a trident; two native mud-brick tower houses; an island with another Doric temple inside a walled enclosure, flanked by two more tower houses; and a native reed hut. Palestrina, Museo Archeologico (Palazzo Barberini).

Chapter 9 and Appendix B). Moreover, Alexandria's enormous lighthouse, or Pharos, begun in 282, is nowhere to be seen. The key segment (Figure 136 bottom right) clearly shows the city's Great Harbor and the eastern end of Pharos Island, but Egyptians still inhabit the island, and it displays no trace whatsoever of the Pharos itself, which was built on this very spot. Instead, we find an Egyptian farm complete with tower, pigeon house, owner, and washerwoman.

The mosaic shows the course of the Nile from its sources in Ethiopia (at the top) to the Mediterranean coast, presenting a panorama of the territory it traverses. As if standing on a high mountain, we see before us a water-world: the river during its annual flood in the season of Akhet, from June through September. Borrowed from Greek epic poetry, this Olympian viewpoint traditionally presented a triumphalist perspective on lands controlled or coveted by the observer. Thus, in the *Iliad*, Zeus observes and quietly directs the Trojan War from the summit of Olympos like an omniscient puppeteer:

> Now Zeus, once he had brought to the galleys the Trojans and Hektor,
> Left them there by the ships to endure war-labor and hardship
> Ceaselessly, and himself his glittering eyes he averted,
> Gazing afar, out over the land of the Thracian horsemen
> And of the Mysians, hand-to-hand fighters, renowned Hippemólgoi,
> Mare's milk drinkers, and Abioi, who of all men are the most righteous.
> No more at all towards Troy his glittering eyes he directed,
> Since in his heart he did not expect anyone of the deathless
> Gods to come down to the aid of the Danaans or of the Trojans.

Such evocative panoramas soon caught on all over the Mediterranean and thence became a staple of Western art – Dutch seventeenth-century painting in particular. Rome boasted one of the earliest. Soon after 268, five years after the Romans signed a treaty of friendship with the Ptolemies, they dedicated a huge panorama of all of Italy in the Temple of Tellus (Earth). Thereafter, their triumphal processions regularly featured pictures of conquered lands from this perspective. So we should expect any such Hellenistic panorama to be broadly ideological, even propagandistic, and here the mosaic does not disappoint.

The Nile's inundation during Akhet brought yearly renewal to Egypt in the form of vast amounts of fertile silt, enabling the Delta's bounty of grain (which by then also fed much of Greece and Italy) to be sown in the following season, Peret (winter), which lasted from October through mid-February. The final season, Shemu (spring), with its harvest in March/April, occupied the rest of the year. Only pious performance of the rituals of the gods by Egypt's legitimate ruler and his priests could guarantee this annual regenerative cycle and thus the country's continuing prosperity. As we have seen,

the latter quickly became a pet Ptolemaic refrain, echoed by both the Tazza Farnese (Figure 1) and Ptolemy II Philadelphos's Great Procession, discussed in Chapter 9. So by implication, the mosaic also celebrates the regime's legitimacy and continuing success on all fronts.

Yet it does far more. As preserved, it can be divided roughly into two parts. Above, we see the rocky wilderness of Nubia/Ethiopia, teeming with primitive blacks and exotic animals; and below is Egypt proper, downstream from the Nile's first cataract at Aswan. This lower half again subdivides into two. Above, we recognize the largely native Egyptian *chōra*, or countryside, with its handsome, Egyptian-style temple, Nilometer, fortified villas, tower houses, and farms; and below is the Hellenized Delta, including the harbor and palace quarter of Alexandria and the playground of the Canopus (Figures 129, 136–38).

As it happens, these three sections correspond closely to that tripartite division of the human race already implied by the Big and Little Barbarians and the Alexander Mosaic (Figures 1, 37, 41–44): into savage barbarians, sophisticated barbarians, and civilized Greco-Macedonians. Ancestors and variants of this system, often correlated with location and climate (north/south or east/west; coastal/inland; cold/hot; wet/dry; etc.), appear in ethnographically inclined authors from Hippokrates and Herodotos in the fifth century to Aristotle in the fourth century and beyond.

In the mosaic's lower half, these three rungs of the evolutionary ladder are explicitly contrasted. Everywhere that we see the Greco-Macedonian colonizers going about their daily lives (at work on warships and cargo vessels; celebrating a victory before a temple; and happily carousing in the Canopus), the colonized Egyptians show up, too (Figures 129, 138). The native underclass of fishermen and peasants – lean, tanned, and naked or wearing only loincloths and other native clothing – plies its papyrus canoes and coracles to and fro, fishes, herds cattle, and so on. Marsh dwellers and dirt poor, these folks live in primitive reed huts, work like slaves, and conspicuously ignore the colonizers.

Their Egyptian and Greek betters, however – prosperous priests, farmers, and merchants – are properly dressed and go quietly about their business or converse serenely with each other (Figure 137). In other words, these civilized Egyptians are behaving exactly as protocol demanded of the thousands of resident aliens, or *metics* (*metoikoi*), in the cities of Greece itself. Now metics in their own land, they have learned not to rock the boat – at least within the confines of the picture. (By 200, as native discontent grew, revolts had exploded in both the Delta and the *chōra*; parts of the latter became no-go areas for Greeks; and native, would-be Pharaohs even appeared there.)

The mosaic thus offers not so much a panorama of Ptolemaic Egypt and East Africa per se but of Ptolemaic *attitudes* toward them. These attitudes range from wonder at the region's teeming animal, tree, and plant life (over fifty different species are represented, all diligently catalogued and studied by scholars of the Alexandrian library); to respect for its ancient Pharaonic culture; to condescension and even contempt for its current inhabitants, from the sophisticated to the slavish. Constructing the conquered and colonized

Other in terms of Hellenism, it assiduously plots that Other's distance from Hellenism, and calmly asserts Greek control over it. Even though it is as racist, imperialist, and exploitative as the Ptolemaic regime it quietly eulogizes and marred by its many misfortunes, it is still a stunning sight.

THE UNDERCLASS: FISHERMEN, PEASANTS, AND DERELICTS

In the cities of the Hellenistic East, the antithesis to the upstanding Greek citizen elites (Figures 85, 100) was the citizen and noncitizen underclass. Composed of Greeks, non-Greek natives, and slaves of every description, it included fishermen, peasants, hawkers, beggars, cripples, and lowlifes of all kinds. Innumerable miniature studies of these characters in bronze, ivory, bone, and especially terracotta have been found in Anatolia, Egypt, and elsewhere; by around 200, monumental sculpture had taken up some of these themes and added others (Figures 139–42). Yet whereas the life-size figures are limited to fishermen, peasants, and the occasional drunk, the statuettes run the gamut from stock figures of New Comedy to caricatures of entertainers, beggars, and street people to dwarves, horribly crippled hunchbacks, and other unfortunates.

Although these bizarre figures have provoked an extensive literature (mostly in German), their origins, significance, and functions remain controversial. Even their nomenclature is problematic, for although the Greeks seem to have called some of them *grylloi*, the word's meaning is uncertain, and the principal English one, "grotesque," does not describe them all and introduces other, anachronistic connotations.

In Roman times, marble copies of the life-size figures embellished public parks and the gardens of private villas; a few (e.g., Figure 140) were dedicated in temples. Unfortunately, whether their now-lost Hellenistic models served the same set of functions is unknown, though the complete absence of such marbles from excavated Hellenistic palaces, villas, and upscale private houses (e.g., Figures 122, 125–26), especially on sculpture-rich, cosmopolitan Delos, is not encouraging. Since all of them are shown carrying their wares, not actually laboring away as in the Nile Mosaic, for example (Figures 129, 136–38), and some are crowned as if for a religious festival, probably they were dedicated in sanctuaries as backhanded gifts to the gods: the fishermen to Poseidon or Hermes, the peasants to Demeter, and so on. A whole class of Hellenistic epigrams helpfully sets the scene:

> His rods and pendent lines, his oar that plowed the sea,
> His curving hooks that snagged the fishes' throats,
> His net fringed round about with lead, and telltale float,
> His wicker baskets readied for the catch,
> His flint pregnant with flame that made his campfire roar,
> His anchor that secured his wandering boat –
> The angler Pisōn all to Hermes gives, grown bent
> With ceaseless toil, and shaky now of hand.



139. A fisherman, marble statuette from Italy after a second-century original. His forearms, legs below the knees, basket handle, and base are restored, but in approximately the right positions. Clad in a fleecy workers' tunic (*exōmis*), he brings his wares to market or to dedicate to a god. A clinical study of old age (exaggerated to stress the subject's ugliness) and the effects of hard labor on the body, this statuette is also a study in contrasts. It positions its uncouth subject at the opposite pole from the Greek citizen ideal (Figure 85), highlighting the coarseness of his fuzzy hair, lined face, broken teeth, scrappy beard, sinewy torso, rough tunic, and wicker basket. H 33 1/8 in. (84 cm). London, British Museum.



140. So-called Old Market Woman, marble copy from Rome after a second-century original. This virtuoso marble replica was found in 1907 at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, 10 ft. above the ancient ground level, together with fragments of the Capitoline temple of Fides and other architectural marbles. Probably, then, it was dedicated either in this temple or the nearby one of the agricultural goddess Ops – not to Bacchus, as often stated, since he had no presence on the Capitol. The woman's ivy crown and offerings (two chickens and a basket of fruit) support this conjecture, and her delicate, diaphanous *chitōn* and elaborate sandals imply a courtesan (*hetaira*) fallen on hard times. In composition, pose, and theme, it closely resembles the fisherman (Figure 139), suggesting not only a similar date for its lost Greek original but also a similar function. H 4 ft. 1 1/2 in. (1.26 m). New York, Metropolitan Museum.



141. An Ethiopian beggar, bronze statuette perhaps made in Alexandria, ca. 100. He wears a coarse leather *exōmis* and a Phyrygian cap. His outstretched right hand and begging bowl are restored. He unites two genres: the ethnic study and the pathological one. His facial features match ancient descriptions of Ethiopians and – more or less – their depiction on the Nile Mosaic (Figure 136), but his body shows clear signs of malnutrition (skinny legs and arms, and distended belly) and scoliosis or curvature of the spine (visible in profile). Yet in contrast to the statuette's repellently abject demeanor and theme, its virtuoso technique demands our respect. Its lips are coppered and its eyes and nipples are inlaid in silver; its disfigured anatomy is precisely rendered; its pose is labile and complex; and removal in the 1960s of its modern coating of black lacquer revealed a fine black patina, probably intentional and induced by exposure to sulfide fumes. H 7 1/4 in. (18.5 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art.



142. Two terracotta dancers and an ivory dwarf, second–first centuries. The two dancers perhaps were made in Smyrna in western Anatolia (although the left-hand one was found at Anthedon in Boeotia), and the central one in Alexandria. Although misshapen, showing signs of dwarfism, and burdened with grotesquely enlarged crania, the dancers exhibit no obvious signs of disease. The central dwarf, however, is one of many afflicted with Pott's Disease (tuberculous spondylitis), named after an eighteenth-century London surgeon. A side effect of tuberculosis, it infects the thoracic portion of the spine. The disc tissue dies and breaks down, leading eventually to vertebral collapse, spinal damage, intense back pain, the formation of a dry soft tissue mass, and muscle weakness in the legs. H of the dwarf 4 in. (10.2 cm). London, British Museum.

Reviving a theme from Hesiod's eighth-century *Works and Days* that had been monumentalized in archaic Greek sculpture by numerous votives of men carrying animals to sacrifice, these arresting figures thus celebrated the simple piety of the poorest. Sentimental, pseudo-naïve, yet stridently "true" and wrought with acute observation and consummate technique, they could simultaneously shock, amuse, fascinate, and (ugly as they are) repel. Of course, given their cost, only the elite could have afforded them: those cultured, urban Greeks who also voraciously consumed the Hellenistic pastoral poems of Theokritos and others, with their idyllic rural landscapes populated by lovelorn, relentlessly versifying rustics. To quote John Dryden's splendid seventeenth-century translation of one of them:

> To *Amaryllis* love compels my way,
> My browsing goats upon the mountains stray:
> O Tityrus, tend them well, and see them fed
> In pastures fresh, and to their watering led,
> And b'ware the ridgling with his butting head.

> Ah, beauteous nymph, can you forget your love,
> The conscious grottoes, and the shady grove;
> Where stretched at ease your tender limbs were laid,
> Your nameless beauties nakedly displayed?

As for the miniatures (Figures 141–42), interpretation is complicated by the fact that mostly they come from poorly documented old collections or the antiquities market. The few securely provenanced ones usually come from private houses, where they tend to turn up in banquet rooms, or *andrōnes* (along with figurines of Aphrodite, Eros, satyrs, centaurs, and female dancers); very few come from sanctuaries and graves. Even so, scholars have suggested many different functions for them, including dedications to Dionysos and other divinities; talismans against the Evil Eye; charms to boost sexual potency; banquet decorations or favors, representing beggars, jesters, mimers, and mummers; racist put-downs of the underclass; and even (implausibly) doctors' teaching aids.

Yet none of these explanations covers more than a part of the corpus, and some are quite far-fetched. Given their diminutive size, few if any would have been satisfactory medical aids; amulets would normally hang from necklaces or wristbands (ancient clothes had no pockets), yet few have holes for rings or strings; not all are phallic; most are not decked out like entertainers or devotees of Dionysos; and the more severely crippled and melancholy ones can hardly have been mimers and mummers.

Although some can boast Greek ancestors (red-figured vases showing domestic and workshop scenes, and terracotta studies of comic actors), those from Egypt often have Pharaonic ones and sometimes carry the cult paraphernalia of Harpokrates or Isis. The types also overlap. The "pathological" grotesques, for example, look almost clinical but can also slip into caricature and satire, as in Figure 142. Some are young, others old; some sad, others happy; and many have the big ears, thick lips, open mouths, wide noses, bulging eyes, pointy heads, and bald pates that had characterized the incorrigibly coarse and stupid since Homer, and satyrs since the sixth century.

Now the ancient world laughed at the deformed, disabled, ugly, and moronic rather than sympathizing with them; it often used laughter and obscenity as defenses against lurking misfortune; it regarded the hump and phallus as particularly powerful talismans in this regard; and it believed dwarves to be extraordinarily virile. In the contemporary Mediterranean, such beliefs are far from dead. Touching the hump of a hunchback, or *gobbo*, still brings good luck in rural Italy, and an amulet of one is a potent defense against the Evil Eye. Moreover, Egyptians already had a 3,000-year-old tradition of using both real-life dwarves and other unfortunates, together with images of them, as good luck charms or talismans against evil.

All this suggests that these miniatures served several overlapping functions, few of them mutually exclusive – indeed, that their widespread appeal lay precisely in the multiple satisfactions they offered to consumers, from kings to commoners. As satirical studies of difference, they could serve as both a psychological safety valve for the colonists' anxieties and frustrations,

and a handy way to turn them into a source of comic relief – a kind of quasi-Aristotelian *katharsis*, resembling the ancient religious phenomenon of the scapegoat, or *pharmakos*.

Ancient writers indicate that at the top of this bizarre hierarchy of misfits were the caustic, well-educated dwarves and hunchbacks who earned their keep as court jesters or "parasites" of playboy monarchs, such as Demetrios Poliorketes (Figures 28–29) and the later Ptolemies (Figure 1). In the middle were the beggars who thronged the banquets of the leisure class and the newly rich, bearing flattering witness to their overflowing plenty, conspicuous consumption (Figure 16), and hopefully limitless generosity. And at the bottom were the myriad guttersnipes of Antioch and Alexandria, with many (de) gradations in between.

By definition, the members of this underclass deviated sharply from the Greek citizen ideal, so their bodies could be seen as infinitely malleable. Against the fit and finite Greco-Macedonian, with his rock-like integrity, erect posture, decorous clothing, restrained gestures, perfect grooming, and often somewhat narcissistic air (Figure 85), and his demure, dutiful, and well-bred womenfolk (Figure 100), they offer a chaotic farrago of excess, aberration, convolution, disjunction, discordance, imperfection, mutilation, atrophy, decay, self-indulgence, and self-loathing (to name but a few). Creatures of both lack *and* superfluity, they often combine stunted or missing limbs with acromegaly and other pathological disorders. This is the discovery of *abjection*, a momentous event for Western art and its ongoing fascination with the grotesque.

Repulsive yet tantalizingly open to the probing eye, these figures exert a horrible fascination, like the Gorgon (Figure 1), and openly flaunt their otherness, like the satyr. (Indeed, one scholar has argued that some were placed around Dionysos's cult images in a grotesque Hellenistic remake of his ancient satyric retinue.) Yet whereas the satyr's realm was a distorted mirror of the Greek city, both rustic and self-referential, these dwarves, cripples, clowns, and other denizens of the underclass existed within and *below* it, as it were, and could not survive without it.

ROMANS

The first Roman army to cross the Adriatic did so in 229, and thereafter the Romans were to interfere repeatedly in Greek affairs, both to secure their own interests and to crimp the power of Macedonians (Figure 30), Seleukids, Mithradates (Figure 36B), and their allies, and finally to fight their own civil war over what was left. Formal Roman occupation, which reduced the Greek world to provincial status, came comparatively late. Macedonian independence ceased only in 146; Pergamon became a province after its last king, Attalos III, willed it to Rome and died in 133; the Seleukid Empire – what little was left of it – followed in 64; and Egypt in 30. Moreover, Athens and many other Greek cities continued to remain nominally free.



143. Gold stater of T. Quinctius Flamininus, ca. 196: the earliest known coin portrait of a famous Roman. The great consul, philhellene, and victor over Philip V of Macedon at Kynoskephalai (197) is cast in quasi-Hellenistic style, with flamboyantly tousled hair and a prominently aquiline nose; his receding chin and scruffy sideburns are realistic touches. The portrait matches Plutarch's comment that he was equally passionate both in anger and in kindness, and always thirsting for honor and glory. A Nike on the reverse crowns the Latin words "of T. Quinctius." The stater was minted in southern Greece (Corinth?) after Flamininus famously proclaimed the "freedom of the Greeks" at the Isthmian Games in 196. Diam. 5/8 in. (1.6 cm). London, British Museum.

Viewed from this perspective, the Romans' main impact on the Hellenistic world looks decidedly negative, particularly when one recalls the vast quantities of statues, paintings, embossed metalwork, and other treasures, not to mention the mountains of hard cash, that they took to Italy as loot (e.g., Figures 71–73, 75, 81, 144). And after the art followed the artists, draining the East of talent to supply the voracious Roman art market (see Appendix A; Figures 8, 66–67, 168–70).

Yet around 100, as the confiscations dwindled and the supply of originals began to dry up, a copying industry appeared at Athens and elsewhere, profiting handsomely from the demand for decorative replicas and versions of "Old Master" paintings and sculptures to embellish the public buildings, piazzas, villas, and tombs of the new world conquerors (Figures 3, 22–23, 27, 29, 32, 37, 39–44, 63–65, 74, 76–78, 82–85, 104–6, 111–14, 129, 136–40, 161–62, 164–66). And in some genres, such as portraiture, the Roman influx increasingly offered new opportunities to shine.

The earliest securely identifiable portrait of a Roman from either East or West is that of T. Quinctius Flamininus. It appears on a rare issue of gold staters struck soon after his great victory over Philip V of Macedon at Kynoskephalai in 197 (Figure 143), either by himself or by one of the Greek cities that had hailed him as its benefactor. Their reverses bear a Victory copied from Alexander's gold staters and the Latin legend T. QVINCTI. This

shows that the initiative behind the issue was certainly Flamininus's, since the Greeks failed to understand for decades thereafter that Romans could not be identified simply by their *praenomina* (in his case, Titus) alone. It also shows that at least some of its intended recipients were Romans.

Although clearly echoing the defeated Philip's coin portraits, the artist exaggerates the Roman's intense, aquiline physiognomy almost to the point of caricature: the first hint of the new hyperrealistic, or *veristic*,[1] style in Roman portraiture (Figure 56). Predictably, it draws on the facial vocabulary already developed for the "old derelicts" discussed in the previous section (Figures 139–40), but also on the craggy, seasoned warrior image favored by such kings as Seleukos and Eukratides (Figures 27, 35).

To the Greeks, whose freedom Flamininus had announced in 196 to universal acclaim, he indeed ranked with Alexander and the kings. They founded cults in his honor, and in 191/190, the Delphians erected a bronze equestrian statue of him. Inevitably, it is lost, but the inscription on its denuded base praises his *aretē*, goodwill, and beneficence to them in conventional terms – which does not mean that they were insincere.

This statue started a trend. As an array of now-denuded bases attest, many more Romans were honored thus during the following two centuries, first in Greece and then in Anatolia. Of course, the total loss of the bronzes themselves makes any discussion of their style somewhat problematic, to say the least. Yet a telltale clue suggests that their Greek dedicators (except on Delos, as will be shown later in this section) preferred the various idealizing styles of Hellenistic royal and elite portraiture (Figures 26–36, 52) to the extremes of Roman verism (Figure 56): When L. Cornelius Sulla, victor over Mithradates (Figure 36B), and other Romans were honored at Boiotian Oropos in the first century, the frugal locals reused some third-century Lysippic portrait bronzes simply by replacing the inscriptions on their bases. The practice soon became sufficiently widespread for an apprehensive Cicero, angling for a similar honor at Athens, to warn Atticus, his friend and agent there, of his distaste for it. Understandably, he wanted the real McCoy.

Sheer stinginess aside, other possible reasons for choosing idealization over verism might include: a conviction that this was the best way to honor benefactors in general; the likelihood that the honoree would be long gone by the time the portrait was made and dedicated; and an understandable feeling that verism was inherently ugly. If the Romans wanted to look like street people (Figures 139–40) at home, no problem; in Greece, traditional protocols would prevail.

Among the dozen or so Hellenistic portrait bronzes that have survived (Figures 68–69, 72–73, 87), one has a particularly good claim to represent a Roman grandee: the so-called Terme Ruler (Figure 144). Found in Rome and wearing no diadem, despite his Alexander-like pose and iron-man physique, he has been variously identified as a Hellenistic "crown prince" or a Roman general. Yet the Greco-Macedonian elements, which are overwhelmingly dominant at first sight (the swaggering pose, pulsating muscles, commanding

1 A modern coinage from the Latin *verus*, meaning "true" or "truthful."



144. The "Terme Ruler," over-life-size, second-century bronze found with the Boxer (Figure 72) on the Quirinal Hill in Rome. Massively muscled and overtly brutal, this formidable individual can bear any burden and best any foe. Yet although posed like Lysippos's Alexanders (Figure 4), he wears no diadem, so cannot be a Hellenistic king. Often identified as a Hellenistic prince or general, probably he is a Roman cast in the guise of the conquering Alexander. Suggested candidates include Flamininus (Figure 143), L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (who expelled the Seleukids from Anatolia in 188), L. Aemilius Paullus (conqueror of Macedon in 168), and a host of lesser Roman generals. H 7 ft. 2 1/2 in. (2.2 m). Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo).



145. Over-life-size nude portrait ("Pseudo-Athlete") from the House of the Diadoumenos on Delos, ca. 100. One of several unfinished marbles found in the house, which probably doubled as a sculptor's workshop, it lacks its final smoothing and polish. The house was destroyed in Mithradates' sack of Delos in 88, furnishing a terminus ante quem for its manufacture. Appropriately for an Italian merchant, it quotes a popular sculptural type of Hermes, god of money and commerce, blending it with the imagery of heroes and kings (e.g., Figures 4, 31, 63) and a hard-boiled, unmistakably Italian portrait head. H 7 ft. 4 1/2 in. (2.25 m). Athens, National Museum.

turn of the head, apparent lack of a beard, intense expression, and full head of hair), tend to fade into the background on closer inspection.

The hair is roughly cropped in a jagged fringe across the brow, and lightly engraved campaign stubble covers the jaw. Narrow, piggish eyes with prominent crow's feet and baggy lower lids, an aquiline nose, deep naso-labial furrows, and a small, pouty mouth complete the effect. Presumably no Greek, he must be a Roman general in Alexander's guise. Unfortunately, because he was found along with the Terme Boxer (Figures 72–73) in a late antique cellar in Rome, both without their bases, whether he was made locally or had been exported or plundered from the East will never be known.

Although this statue incorporates elements of Roman verism, present evidence suggests that the latter made its formal Greek debut only on Delos in the late second and early first centuries. As Chapter 4 has shown, Italians and Romans (distinct communities until the former received Roman citizenship in 90) flocked to do business there after Pergamon and its territories passed to Rome in 133. Unfortunately, this cosmopolitan society lasted a mere two generations. Decimated by Mithradates (Figure 36B) in 88, its death knell was finally sounded when pirates thoroughly sacked the island in 69.

Rich and respected, these Delian community leaders received honorary portraits in quantity. In addition to the portraits of Gaius Ofellius Ferus and others from the so-called Agora of the Italians (Figures 55–56), an over-life-size one from the House of the Diadoumenos (Figure 145) shows the hard-boiled veristic style well entrenched. Its uncompromising features and utter disdain for Greek ideals of male beauty signal the determination and drive of the hard-nosed capitalist entrepreneur, while its abruptly turned head and nude body warn us not to cross this latter-day successor to the heroes, Alexander (Figures 4, 22), and the kings (Figures 27–34). He and his Italo-Roman compatriots had come to stay, get rich, and rule.

11

DEATH

The ways in which cultures treat their dead can reveal much about two crucial sets of beliefs: about the person and about the afterlife.

As we saw in Chapters 2, 5, and 6, anthropologists, sociologists, and philosophers, when faced with the problem of individuality, often prefer to talk about *personhood* – the social construction of the person according to received norms and expectations. Analyzing a tomb and its contents from this point of view, as a kind of socially constructed portrait of the deceased, may reveal much about his or her social identity beyond mere age, sex, and (if present) wealth, especially if that analysis is supplemented by external sources of information. It may offer insights into expressions of status and potentially also into ancient social structures and other concerns, both political and religious.

As for the afterlife, in the Hellenistic period, the ancient Greek traditions of ritual involvement with the dead – including funerals, lamentations, and periodic libations beside the tomb – all continue. Fulfilling these obligations calms the anger of the dead, which is harmful even from the grave. Yet actual beliefs about an afterlife remained fluid. Alongside the gloomy Homeric Underworld ruled by Hades and Persephone and inhabited by squeaking, bloodless shades, brighter alternatives flourished, such as the transmigration of souls (Orphics and others), a personal afterlife (Stoics), and even personal deification (some Dionysiac cults). Heroization of the dead and belief in personal immortality, previously rare, now flourished, echoing Aristotle's famous remark that the dead are "better and mightier" than ourselves. Indeed, in Hellenistic funerary inscriptions, "hero" largely becomes synonymous with "deceased" (twenty-first-century Americans would feel right at home). Elaborate provisions for private mortuary cult are popular, sacrifices and funerary games included.

Because death is a huge, heterogeneous topic, naturally spanning the entire Hellenistic world, a small selection will have to suffice again, offering a tantalizing sample of the vast range of tomb types and grave goods, as well as hints as to the beliefs that possibly motivated them.

MACEDONIA AND THE AEGEAN

Although most burials remain poor (simple cremations or inhumations with minimal grave goods), seven early Hellenistic tombs discovered at Derveni in Macedonia in 1962 present a useful cross section of some higher-status ones. Situated as usual along an ancient road, they comprised one pit grave, plastered inside and covered with wooden planks; five cist tombs – cut stone boxes – from 3 1/2 to 8 feet (1.08 to 2.4 meters) long, four of them stone-roofed; and a larger, vaulted chamber tomb with a Doric façade and pediment that was approached down a ramp, or *dromos*, and covered by an earthen tumulus. In most cases, the deceased had been cremated on a pyre atop the roof, laid out on a wooden dining couch, or *klinē*.

The chamber tomb had been looted, but the others yielded finds of major importance, including remains of wooden *klinai*; ceramic, bronze, and silver vessels; arms and armor; and gold coins, jewelry, and funerary wreaths. From the distribution of the vessels, clear status distinctions emerge. Although every tomb contained pottery, two of them also yielded many bronze vessels, and two more produced both bronze and silver ones – around forty per tomb. In each case, almost all the vessels were for symposion use.

These finds not only document the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by the Macedonian elite thanks to Alexander's conquests, but also suggest beliefs at work like those of the Orphics, which had been ridiculed by Plato: "The rewards that Mousaios and Orpheus provide for the just are juvenile indeed, for after they get them to Hades, they have them recline, wreathed, at a banquet of the Blest, and leave them there drinking for all time, as if they thought that virtue's supreme reward was to be drunk for eternity." (And by now, what do they do for conversation?) A charred papyrus from one of the Derveni pyres containing an Orphic text and commentary on theology and the afterlife; other Macedonian tombs filled with similar goods and/or frescoed with symposion scenes; and fourth-century gold tablets from Thessalian graves that describe Dionysiac mysteries promising heroization and life after death – these all point in the same direction.

In two of the tombs, the cremated bones had been washed in wine and spices, wrapped in purple cloths, deposited in great metal volute-kraters (symposion vessels particularly associated with Dionysos: Figure 146), adorned with gold wreaths, and given gold coins to pay the infernal boatman, Charon, for their final journey. This ritual is Homeric. In the *Iliad*, Hektor is cremated and buried in this manner, and in the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon's ghost tells Achilles of his funeral:

> But then, after the flame of Hephaistos had fully consumed you,
> Early at dawn we gathered your white bones together, Achilles,



146. Bronze krater, from grave B at Derveni (Macedonia), ca. 375–350. Often erroneously described as golden or gilded, it is made of bronze with a high tin content (almost

(*continued*)

> Into the unmixed wine and the unguent – a jar had your mother
> Given, of gold, two-handled: she said it had been Dionysos'
> Gift and that it was the work of the glorious craftsman Hephaistos.
> It is in this that your white bones lie now, brilliant Achilles.

As we saw in previous chapters, this kind of Homeric emulation had helped shape the character and career of the greatest Macedonian hero of them all: Alexander.

One of these Dionysiac kraters (Figure 146), a huge vessel 3 feet (90.5 centimeters) high, is the most elaborate ever found in the Greek world. An inlaid silver inscription on its lip identifies its owner as Astion son of Anaxagoras of Larisa in Thessaly. Its type and figure style date it before 350, but the middle-aged man and his wife interred inside it cannot have died before the late 330s, because the gold coin found with them was a posthumous issue of Philip II, assassinated in 336. Another forty-three bronze and silver vessels were deposited along with them, together with weapons, armor, a parade shield, and horse trappings for the man, and perfume jars, cosmetics, and jewelry for his wife. So perhaps the dead warrior (Astion or his son?) had joined the Thessalian cavalry that Philip had recruited for his new model army, which Alexander took with him to Asia and eventually demobilized as the great crusade drew to a close.

So either this flamboyant krater was made for interment and then for some reason was not used until a generation or two later, or it was made for a Dionysiac initiation ritual and was subsequently reused for the tomb. Its imagery, rich with references to death, the Underworld, rebirth, and apotheosis (Ariadne's, at the side of Dionysos), could support either interpretation. In any case, it and its sumptuous burial context take us into another world from, for example, the simple Athenian graves that postdate Demetrios of Phaleron's ban on funerary extravagance in 317. They remind us that northern Greek and Macedonian culture was very different from that of the south: baronial and Homeric to the core.

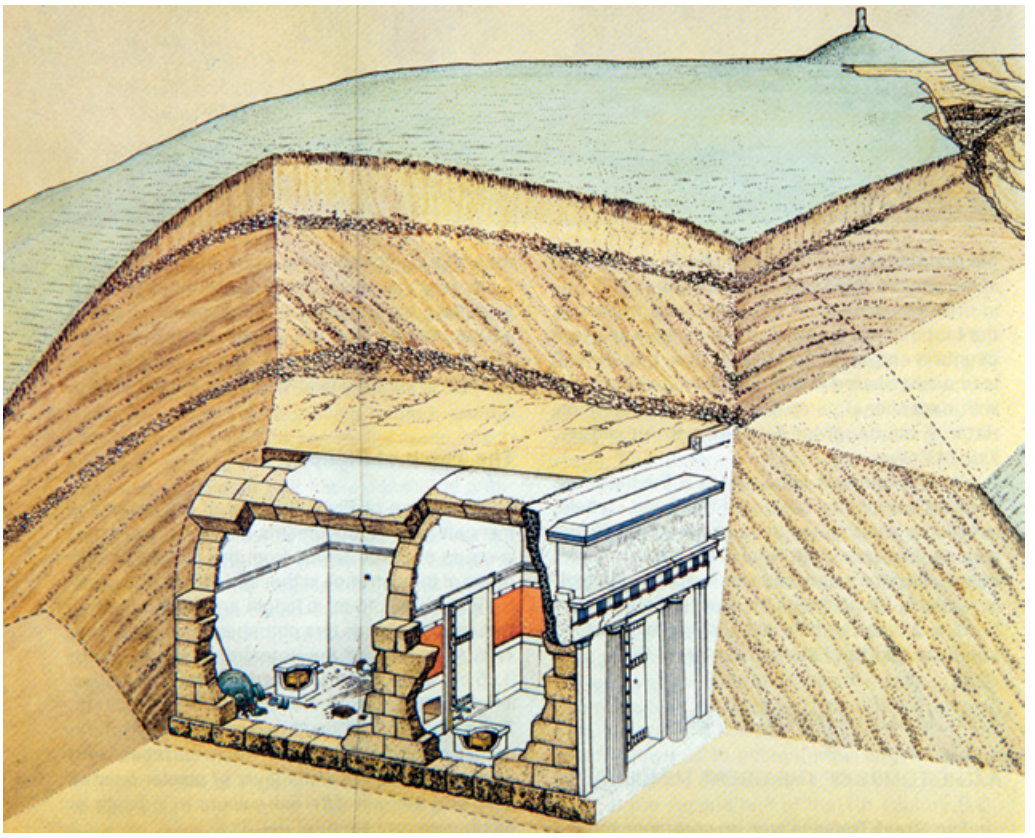
Although this tomb was painted only with a garland of olives around its interior, other Macedonian ones were less austere. Of the three royal tombs found in 1977 at Vergina (ancient Aigai, Macedonia's capital before Philip II moved it to Pella), Tomb I's interior featured Hades' abduction of Persephone (Figure 147), a mourning Demeter, and the three Fates; Tomb II (Figure 148)

146. (*continued*)

fifteen percent), with silver additions. On its main frieze, a naked Dionysos lounges next to Ariadne, nonchalantly slinging his leg over her thigh, while she decorously lifts her bridal veil. Cavorting maenads, an imperious-looking Silenos, and a mysterious hunter wearing a single boot surround them. Sleeping maenads, a youth, and a Silenos adorn the vessel's shoulder, and masks of Herakles, the river god Acheloos, Hades, and Dionysos embellish its handles. A riot of vine and ivy tendrils, animal friezes, snakes, and moldings completes the ensemble. Inlaid in silver on the lip are the words: "[Property] of Astion son of Anaxagoras of Larissa." H 36 in. (90.5 cm). Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum.



147. Hades abducting Persephone, fresco from Tomb I at Vergina (ancient Aigai), Macedonia, ca. 336. Vividly painted in a sketchy, linear style that uses both hatched shading and chiaroscuro (color gradation), Hades sweeps up Persephone as one of her companions cowers in terror; Hermes runs ahead, guiding the chariot down to the Underworld. On the opposite wall, three seated women, perhaps the Fates, observe the scene, while on the end wall, Demeter mourns the loss of her daughter. A monochrome frieze of griffins heraldically flanking flowers on a blue background crowns the lower part of the wall, which is painted dark red. Although the tomb had been robbed, the fragmentary bones of a mature man, a young woman, and a baby remain: King Philip II (assassinated in 336), his young sixth wife Kleopatra, and their daughter Europē? 3 3/5 × 11 1/2 ft. (1.10 × 3.5 m). Vergina, Archaeological Museum, in situ.



148. Cutaway perspective of Tomb II at Vergina (ancient Aigai), Macedonia, probably 316. The frescoed hunting scene on its Doric façade involves (from left to right) a deer, a boar, a lion, and a bear, and resembles the Alexander Mosaic (Figure 37) in format and use of perspective. A young, wreathed rider dressed in royal purple dominates the center of the composition: Alexander or the deceased? The dead, cremated on a pyre atop the vault, were entombed in golden chests (*larnakes*) placed in marble sarcophagi: a woman in the antechamber, a man in the main one. The bones were wrapped in cloth of gold embroidered with purple acanthuses, and topped with golden funerary wreaths (*stephanai*: see Figure 149). Grave goods included two couches (*klinai*) inlaid with gold and ivory friezes; for the woman, a gold myrtle wreath and other jewelry, an embossed gold bow-case and pectoral, gilded bronze greaves, two iron spears, and arrows; and for the man, silver symposion vessels, arms and armor including a parade shield inlaid in gold and ivory with Achilles killing Penthesileia, and a silver-gilt circlet. The occupants were probably King Philip III Arrhidaios and his Amazonian wife, Eurydike, murdered by Alexander's mother, Olympias, in 316. 17 ft. 4 in. × 31 ft. 2 in. (5.3 × 9.5 m). Vergina, Archaeological Museum.

included a magnificent hunting scene above its exterior colonnade; and Tomb III had a similarly placed painting that is now completely effaced. A generation later, the palatial façade of the Great Tomb at Lefkadia (Figure 123) was even more elaborately frescoed. Between the half-columns of its lower story, Hermes leads a dead warrior to judgment by Aiakos and Rhadamanthys; on its metopes, Greeks fight Centaurs; and on the frieze above, Greeks fight Persians. Unfortunately, its pedimental scene is lost.



149. Gold oak wreath, from the ash chest (*larnax*) in the main chamber of Tomb II at Vergina (ancient Aigai), Macedonia, ca. 316. Oaks were sacred to Zeus, king of the gods and the god of kings, who was worshiped at the Macedonian national sanctuary at Dion on the slopes of Mount Olympos and often wore such a wreath. Formerly placed on the dead man's body atop the funeral pyre, this one was evidently damaged during removal before cremation, for some of its leaves and acorns were found around the pyre. Even so, 313 leaves and 68 acorns survive, and at more than 1 1/2 lbs. (714 g), it is the largest, heaviest, and most elaborate example known from antiquity. Diam. 7 1/4 in. (18.5 cm). Vergina, Archaeological Museum.

We have encountered these three blatantly macho themes of battle, hunt, and abduction already in domestic contexts. As we saw, they cohere precisely in the figure of the heroic protagonist, with whom host and guests could identify while enjoying that quintessentially Macedonian pastime, the all-male drinking party, or symposion. On the tombs, they reassert the deceased's heroic status, complementing the array of bronze and silver symposion vessels, armor, weapons, and other goods deposited inside. At Vergina the dead were cremated, like those at Derveni, but now in a truly royal manner. Their bones, duly washed and anointed, were wrapped in cloth of gold winding sheets beautifully embroidered with purple florals, and interred along with their golden funerary wreaths (Figure 149) in massive golden ash chests, or *larnakes*.

Yet lest all this be thought to indicate a firm belief in personal immortality as an eternally feasting hero, it is strange that with a single, late exception, the occupants of these magnificent tombs are never named. As a result, the royal couple of Tomb II is variously and contentiously identified as either Philip II and Kleopatra (d. 336) or Philip III Arrhidaios and Eurydike (d.



150. Painted gravestone of Menelaos son of Hegesidemos of Amphipolis in Macedonia, from Demetrias (Greece), ca. 250–200. Founded by Demetrios Poliorketes (Figures 28–29) in 293, the city was a Macedonian stronghold for a little less than a century, until the Romans conquered it in 196. Holding a kantharos, Menelaos reclines on a dining couch (*klinē*) and is attended by a slave boy. A side table and wine bucket (*situla*) stand near him. A pomegranate, symbolizing life after death – because when it ripens and dies, it scatters its seeds – embellishes the pediment. The relatively austere linear technique enlivened with chiaroscuro touches, recalling the Demeter of Tomb I at Vergina, eclectically combines the styles of the great classical painters Parrhasios and Zeuxis, who flourished ca. 400. Volos, Archaeological Museum.



151. Gravestone of Posideos son of Demokles, and Herophanta daughter of Timon, from Smyrna (western Anatolia), ca. 150. Posideos, dressed in the *himation* "suit" worn by prosperous citizen males, holds a scroll to signal his education and intellect. His wife, Herophanta, who is posed antithetically to him, holds a huge torch, identifying her as a priestess of Demeter. Their children, shown at reduced scale, accompany them. Two crowns inscribed with "the people" (*dēmos*) hang above the scene, indicating that the couple had been publicly honored for some benefaction; a shield occupies the center of the pediment; all were once painted. Like honorary portraits, which the figure types also echo, the couple is named in the accusative case, as if governed by the formula "The *dēmos* [has dedicated] X [the honoree]" (see Chapter 4), turning the stone into a miniature honorific monument. Compare Menelaos's more informal gravestone (Figure 150), where he is named in the nominative, as the subject rather than the distinguished object of the image. H 5 ft. (1.52 m). Malibu, Getty Villa.

316); and on the Lefkadia tomb's façade (Figure 123), the dead warrior also remains anonymous – alone of the four protagonists.

The exception is the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, built around 200, at the end of the series, whose chamber uniquely contained a dozen niches for ash urns with the names of the dead painted above them. Contrast the much humbler Macedonian and Thessalian painted gravestones (Figure 150) and the ubiquitous carved ones of Anatolia (Figure 151), where the deceased are always identified and often given flattering epitaphs as well. The discrepancy, barely noted by those obsessing over which tomb at Vergina houses whom,

remains a puzzle. Were the tumuli capped by inscribed stelai, now lost? Or could the Macedonian elite have believed in something between an individual and a corporate postmortem identity, such as eventual transformation into what anthropologists call "distributed personhood": a generic ancestor status?

A PANHELLENIC PHENOMENON: THE "TANAGRETTES"

Several hundred thousand exquisite terracotta figurines, mostly but not exclusively female (Figures 152–53), have been found in Hellenistic graves and sometimes in houses and sanctuaries, from Sicily to Babylon and from the Black Sea to Alexandria. Nicknamed "Tanagras" or "Tanagrettes" when first excavated illegally in the 1870s at the huge cemetery of that name in Boeotia, north of Athens, they soon flooded the antiquities market and generated an avalanche of fakes, many of which are still exhibited in museums around the world, even in the most unlikely places.[1]

Invented in Athens around 330, these figurines were both widely exported and soon produced at several other key centers, including Thebes, Corinth, Taranto in southern Italy, Myrina and Amisos in Anatolia, Kition in Cyprus, Alexandria, and Cyrene in Libya. Although in Greece their popularity had faded by around 200, elsewhere it lasted well into the second century.

Popular types include children, preteen and teenage boys and girls, young men and especially young women, and old women, alone or in pairs. They either converse, play games, dance, perform sacrifices, hold babies, and so on, or simply stand or sit around. The women wear the latest fashions, are elegantly coiffured, and carry everyday items, such as mirrors, fans, vases, lutes, and so on – but never scrolls, which are reserved for the males. The best (see Figure 152) are distinguished by a vibrant polychromy in pink, red, orange, yellow, green, blue, violet, and white, and sometimes also by gilding (which was especially popular in Anatolia). They represent a major source for our knowledge of Hellenistic everyday life, replacing the now-defunct red-figure vases in this role.

When dedicated in sanctuaries, these figurines probably anticipated or marked life's key transitions: for women (the vast majority), puberty, maturity, marriage, and motherhood. Presumably, then, their function in the grave was to compensate the prematurely deceased for their tragic failure to attain these goals. This idea was not new. In archaic Greece, funerary kouroi and korai had served the same purpose. Unfortunately, at both Tanagra and Myrina the contents of individual graves were rarely recorded, but elsewhere the women's ones include pottery, perfume jars, ornament and cosmetic containers, mirrors, and jewelry.

In this way, the rewards that tragically had eluded these individuals in life would now be theirs after death. The same sentiment governed the choice

1 In 2011, for example, I encountered a whole case of these fakes in the magnificently refurbished Victorian Royal Pump Rooms at Harrogate Spa in Yorkshire. I could not bring myself to tell their proud custodians.



152. "The Lady in Blue," terracotta statuette from Tanagra in Boiotia (Greece), ca. 320–300; another figurine made from the same front and back molds is in the Louvre. With her gold-fringed *himation* draped in a fashionable zigzag, she stands holding a fan. Her

(*continued*)



153. Couple seated on a marriage bed, terracotta group from tomb 100 at Myrina (northwestern Anatolia), ca. 150–100. One of the few Myrina terracottas traceable to a particular tomb, it was found with a stylistically similar terracotta grotto of the nymphs, signed by Nikostratos, and a stylistically later version of the fifth-century "Genetrix" Aphrodite, signed by Varius. The tomb thus remained in use for a long time, from the second century into the first century, when Roman-style nomenclature had become popular in Greece and Anatolia. The couple's interactions are carefully plotted. The groom ardently propositions his reluctant bride, who is still shrouded in her enveloping *himation* and wearing her bridal wreath. She echoes a popular Hellenistic nymph type known also in Roman copy. Unfortunately, few traces of the polychromy remain. H 11 in. (28 cm). Paris, Louvre.

152. (*continued*)

body and head were molded separately; her back is only roughly modeled and pierced by a vent for gases to escape during firing. Part of her veil and rectangular base were modeled separately and her drapery folds were retooled before firing. The colors were added after firing: blue on gray (*chitōn*, *himation* and veil, fan); pink (*chitōn*, lips); gold leaf (hem of *himation* and veil, fan, hat); ivory tinged with pink (face); and black (eyes). H 13 in. (32.5 cm). Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



154. Polychrome nuptial vase (*lebēs gamikos*), from Centuripe near Syracuse, ca. 300–200. Centuripe (ancient Kentoripa) was a native Sicel town, rich, populous, and Hellenized from the fifth century. The vase is purely symbolic: Its body and lid are made in one piece and its back is blank. The body springs from a calyx of leaves, signaling life and fertility, and carries a scene of bridal preparation in a Dionysiac vein, as one woman plays the *tympanon* (compare Figure 120), and she and another wear ivy crowns. Above, a frieze of Erotes in applied clay complements this scene, and the triglyphs and cornice with lion's-head waterspouts monumentalize it. H 15 5/8 in. (37.7 cm). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

of wedding vessels and wedding scenes by potters who produced ash urns for the tomb (Figure 154). This particular vase, however, a masterpiece of Hellenistic polychrome painting, and thoroughly Greek both stylistically and iconographically, was made not for Greeks but for native Sicilians or Sikels. It reminds us that by then, Hellenization, even in such matters as socially pivotal as death and remembrance, had spread far beyond the confines of the Greek world proper into the wider Mediterranean one.

HELLENIZATION (I): PHOENICIA

In 1887, French and Turkish archaeologists discovered a tomb complex in the hills a little less than a mile east of the Phoenician (now Lebanese) city of Sidon. An ancient, wealthy mercantile power, it was still ruled by native kings under the Persians, and then under Alexander and the Macedonians. Consisting of seven rock-cut chambers grouped around a central shaft, this nekropolis housed no fewer than sixteen massive marble sarcophagi: two anthropoid ones, four magnificent figured ones, and ten non-figured ones.

Although once again the deceased are now anonymous, this must be Sidon's royal cemetery. Three of the figured caskets predate our period; the fourth (Figure 155) features Alexander but is generally agreed to have contained the remains of the man he put on Sidon's throne after the Battle of Issos in 333: a certain Abdalonymos.[2] It is contemporary with the royal tombs at Vergina, discussed at the beginning of this chapter (Figures 147–49).

Although housing Phoenician kings born and raised under Persian rule, these four figured caskets were purely Greek in style. Probably the kings commissioned them after ascending the throne and kept them for public display until they were needed. The Alexander Sarcophagus is by far the most elaborate. Its virtuoso reliefs, accompanied by an array of Greek and Phoenician ancillary motifs, include two long friezes, two short ones, and two pediments. One of these pediments suggests both a date for the casket and a lurking ambivalence toward the conquerors, since it almost certainly shows the murder in 320 of the tyrannical Perdikkas, Alexander's second-in-command and briefly the de facto ruler of the empire after his death.

Unthinkable on a Greek or Macedonian funerary monument, this gruesome scene would have appalled Persian viewers, too, given their ironclad sense of courtly etiquette. Clearly, though, Abdalonymos felt that Perdikkas's abysmal reputation justified its inclusion and would ruffle few feathers among

2 An alternative theory ascribes it to Mazaeus, former Persian satrap of Syro-Phoenicia and then of Babylon, who surrendered the city to Alexander in 331, was reinstated as satrap the same year, and died in 328. Although attractive on some counts, this theory fails to explain the murder discussed in the next paragraph. It also fails to explain why Mazaeus, a Persian noble of considerably higher rank than the Sidonian kings, wanted to be buried in their private mausoleum, and it leaves poor Abdalonymos, Sidon's last king, with no final resting place.



155. The "Alexander" sarcophagus, from Sidon (Lebanon), usually attributed to King Abdalonymos of Sidon (reigned 333–ca. 300). The pictured long side shows the Battle of Issos, Abdalonymos's lucky day. At left, Alexander, wearing a fantastic leonine helmet, spears a Persian, as in the Alexander Mosaic (Figure 37), but Darius and his chariot are replaced by a chaotic mêlée. A lion hunt on the other long side (the front, facing out into the tomb) stars Abdalonymos himself in Persian garb (Sidonian court dress?), followed dutifully by a diademed, short-haired Macedonian prince who looks nothing like Alexander but might be Antigonos's son, the mercurial Demetrios Poliorketes (see Figures 28–29). On the short sides and on one pediment, Orientals fight Macedonians and hunt a panther; and on the other pediment, Macedonians murder one of their own, probably the tyrannical Perdikkas, Alexander's lieutenant and de facto ruler of the empire from 323 until his murder in 320. H 6 ft. 4 3/4 in. (1.95 m) H of friezes 27 1/8 in. (69 cm). Istanbul, Archeological Museum.

Alexander's successors, who were now busy fighting over Phoenicia itself, a strategic prize rich in resources. No doubt he and his subjects shed few tears at the sight of their ruthlessly exploitative Macedonian masters falling out with each other – indeed, perhaps they greeted the dissolution of their ephemeral world empire with quiet satisfaction.

The rest of the casket's imagery, a splendidly carved, although fairly conventional, assemblage of battles and hunts, is equally two-faced. It overtly proclaims Abdalonymos's homage to his Macedonian masters, while discreetly emphasizing by its choice of protagonists the manly prowess of the East – his own in particular. To use two Greek terms introduced in

Chapter 2, against the *archē* of Macedon, it promotes the *dynamis* of Asia. Although all of this tells us nothing at all about Abdalonymos's views on the afterlife (if any), it does offer a unique glimpse into the reactions of the conquered and colonized to the distasteful but apparently inescapable fact of Macedonian power.

ALEXANDRIA AND EGYPT

The Alexandrian cemeteries, vast, extensively explored, and still unique among the Hellenistic capitals, amply justify the term *nekropoleis* – true cities of the dead. Bracketing the city to the east and west and sprawling two miles each way along the Mediterranean coast, the ones nearest town soon were built over as its population expanded. Separate sites were reserved for Egyptians and non-Egyptians, and within each the dead often were further segregated. Inscriptions on the ash urns from the Hadra cemetery (Figure 156), for example, show that one of its subdivisions was reserved for Greek sacred envoys and another for Greek mercenaries.

Tomb types ranged from simple slab-covered pits, sometimes marked by painted or carved gravestones, as in Greece and Anatolia (see Figures 151–52), to elaborate, rock-cut chamber complexes grouped around a central shaft or courtyard (Figure 157). Cremation and inhumation were equally popular, as in Macedonia, and mummification was by no means confined to Egyptians. Alexander had been mummified before his debut in a golden (later crystal) sarcophagus in the royal mausoleum, or Sēma, at the heart of the city, as were the later Ptolemies. (When Octavian took Alexandria in 30, he asked to see the body; but when his guides also invited him to view the Ptolemies, housed next door, he shot back acidly, "I've come to see a king, not corpses.") Indeed, evidence abounds that especially in the hinterland, or *chōra*, many Greeks adopted not only mummification but also the Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife and the rituals that accompanied it.

These chamber complexes often resembled upscale Hellenistic peristyle houses (Figure 157; compare Figure 125), boasting courtyards that were embellished with engaged Doric or Ionic colonnades, often combined with Egyptian elements, and rooms grouped around them. Many were also frescoed with Greek subjects, ranging from sanctuaries and temples to everyday (note the riders above the central door of Figure 157) and even Underworld scenes, to simple imitations of cut stone architecture, as in the wealthier private houses (see Figure 126). Some scenes (Figure 158) have clear precedents in Egyptian Pharaonic painting, in both cases forecasting similar benefits to follow in the afterlife, but also would have resonated with Greeks schooled in the idyllic Alexandrian pastoral poetry of Theokritos and the Mouseion, discussed in Chapters 10 and 12.



156. Funerary *hydria* of Dorotheos, from the Hadra cemetery in Alexandria, ca. 200. This ash urn is painted in a modernized version of the archaic Greek black-figure technique. On its main frieze, two swans flank the head of a sacrificial bull, adorned with woolen fillets; dolphins ring the shoulder; and a festive laurel or ivy wreath encircles the neck. Made in Crete and imitating a water jar (for the dead are always thirsty), it hints at a sacrifice to the dead man, his journey overseas to the Isles of the Blest, and his happy afterlife. H 15 in. (38 cm). London, British Museum.



157. Tomb 1 in the Mustapha Pasha necropolis, Alexandria, ca. 250. Imitating an upscale Hellenistic courtyard house (see Figure 125), the complex consists of a central Doric court surrounded by ten rooms containing niches for the (probably mummified) dead. A particularly grand example of its type, it features a central altar and Egyptian-style doorways guarded by sphinxes ("dogs of the dead") tucked between its Doric columns. A painted Greek-style frieze of riders and women embellishes its central doorway, and other paintings decorate its rooms.

HELLENIZATION (II): JUDEA, PETRA, AND KOMMAGENE

With the contraction of Ptolemaic Egypt (until its brief resurgence under Kleopatra and Antony in the 40s and 30s) and the simultaneous decline and eventual collapse in 64 of Seleukid Syria, non-Greek peoples in the area eagerly seized their chance. A pattern soon emerged. After a period of militant nationalism, sooner or later their native rulers cautiously flirted with Hellenistic customs and protocols, the indispensable status symbols of the still dominant Mediterranean culture. Their tombs were no exception.

Judea. The Maccabees, now the most famous of these breakaway dynasties, celebrated their independence from the Seleukids in style. Their revolt, triggered in 167, gradually achieved its hard-fought goals, with the men ruling in succession as High Priests and, eventually, as kings. And as the Jewish historians took care to note (writing, as one would expect, in Greek):



158. A rural scene, fresco from the Wardian Tomb, west of Alexandria, probably second century. On a terrace by the Nile, two oxen turn a waterwheel, flanked by a peasant and a herm; an Egyptian soul bird decorates the opposite wall. The scene (foreshadowed in Pharaonic tombs, where it conjured up an idyllic afterlife) and its self-consciously casual style recall the Alexandrian pastorals of Theokritos (ca. 300–250) and others, although these poems are set in Greece and Sicily and pointedly avoid any reference to rural toil. The rustic setting, subdued palette, impressionistic technique, cast shadows, and sophisticated perspective hint at the lost glories of Alexandrian painting. They celebrate country life (suitably idealized) and the abundance of the Nile – a favorite Ptolemaic boast – in a specifically Egyptian setting. H 39 in. (100 cm). Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.

> Simon Maccabee [reigned 142–134] built a monument over the tomb of his father and his brothers; he made it high that it might be seen from everywhere, covered front and back in polished stone and surrounded by colonnades, an amazing sight. He also erected seven pyramids, opposite one another, for his father and mother and brothers. And for the pyramids he devised an elaborate setting, erecting about them monolithic columns, and upon the columns he put suits of armor for a permanent memorial, and beside them carved ships, for travelers from overseas to visit. This tomb that he built in Modi'in is still visible today.

Echoing both the pyramids of the Egyptian Pharaohs and lavish Hellenistic funerary monuments, such as the one Alexander had built in 324 at Babylon for his favorite, Hephaistion, this fascinatingly hybrid tomb complex unfortunately has not survived. Two others have been luckier: the Khazneh at Petra in Jordan and the Hierothesion of Antiochos I of Commagene at Nemrud Dag in southeastern Turkey.

Petra. No visitor to Petra, capital of Nabatean warriors and desert traders, can forget the Khazneh (Figure 18). First, the long, dusty walk down the

outer valley; then the rising anticipation as the rose-red cliffs close in; and finally the breathtaking glimpse of towering columns, sculptures, and gables as Petra's mountain-fringed heart draws near. From Frederic Church's stunning canvas of 1874 to Steven Spielberg's *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), this huge, majestic structure has captivated the Western imagination for a century and a half.

A tour de force of the Alexandrian baroque (see Chapter 1), the Khazneh is also anonymous. Of the two longtime favorites for its occupant – King Aretas III Philhellen (reigned ca. 85–62) and King Aretas IV Philopatris (reigned 9 BC–AD 40) – the latter now looks more promising, not least because the tomb's interior has three chambers, and he had two wives. Its prime location, surely snapped up early in Petra's life as a royal capital, could even suggest that it was the first of the site's monumental Hellenizing tombs.

Although we know little about Nabatean beliefs, the architecture itself is suggestive. Purely Greek in style apart from its two crowning obelisks, and dramatically located at Petra's chief entry point, it signals that its patron is steeped in Hellenism, accepting *and promoting* the world's dominant culture. Although non-Greek and thus technically a "barbarian," he is thoroughly civilized: a ruler worthy of a Hellenized world and thus a good man with whom to do business. Visitors would have gotten the point.

Moreover, the Khazneh's façade (proportioned in a typically Hellenistic 3:2 ratio: compare Figures 15, 50) looks like a Greek sanctuary in bird's-eye view. (Reading it perspectivally as "up" equals "back," an ancient convention familiar throughout the East, would have been instinctive.) The lower story would represent the sanctuary's gated entrance, or *propylon*, and the upper one its temple and framing, ∏-shaped colonnades. Invented in the third century BC, this temple-colonnade combination soon achieved widespread popularity (see Figure 14), soon appearing at Petra itself (the Great Temple). All in all, it declares that the occupant is godlike, perhaps that he is even now a god.

The tomb's embellishment underscores these messages. On the lower story, the Dioskouroi – the divine twins Castor and Pollux – protected both travelers and the dead on their final journey. Above them, on the upper one, two Nikai and six bare-breasted, axe-wielding Amazons flank a central figure, probably Isis-Tychē: the divine creator, life-giver, protector, deliverer, and Queen of the Universe rolled into one. Guardian eagles, griffins, lions, and Gorgoneia (compare Figure 1) complete the effect.

Meanwhile, a riot of fruits and flowers interspersed with drinking cups not only signals life's renewal after death, but also adds a festive, Dionysiac touch, recalling the ubiquitous funerary *andrōnes* of Petra's other monumental tombs. The vine-clad frieze of the Alexander Sarcophagus (Figure 155) offers an excellent precedent.

Yet although the Khazneh inaugurated a local funerary tradition, an astonishing 94 percent of Nabatean tombs continued to adhere to the native, non-Greek architectural idiom, and an even more amazing 99 percent rejected the Khazneh's rich figural and floral embellishment. Happy to profit from the Greeks in any way they could, but fiercely independent and resolutely aniconic, the Nabateans largely turned their backs on it. So



159. Hierothesion of Antiochos I of Commagene at Nemrud Dag (southeastern Turkey), ca. 50–35. View of the burial tumulus and east terrace with (from left to right) enthroned limestone statues of Antiochos, Commagene, Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, and Artagnes-Herakles, flanked by eagles and lions. Antiochos's testament is inscribed across the backs of the thrones. H of figures ca. 30 ft. (8 m). Nemrud Dag, in situ.

for all its cosmopolitan sophistication, when seen in context, the Khazneh actually betrays its royal occupant's idiosyncrasy and his people's stubborn independence.

Commagene. After the Seleukid collapse, Commagene joined Armenia as a major power in the area, although its king, Antiochos, soon allied with Rome and took the title "Philorhomaios" – Rome Lover. By his death around 35 he had built himself a vast funerary complex on the 7,300-foot summit of Nemrud Dag, about 150 miles northeast of Antioch: the last of the great Hellenistic mausoleums. A tumulus of grapefruit-sized rocks, almost 200 feet high, still covers his tomb, frustrating all attempts to find it. Two huge terraces supporting vast quantities of colossal sculpture in mixed Greco-Iranian style flank it (Figures 159–60), one facing west, toward the Hellenistic world, the other facing east, toward Persia.

Antiochos, born of Greco-Iranian ancestry, composed a long prose poem in Asiatic Greek style to accompany all this. It pompously declares that only piety toward the immortals could unite East and West, and dedicates the ensemble to the composite Zeus-Oromasdes (Ahura Mazda), "a foundation impervious to the ravages of Time, proximate to the thrones of the Heavenly Ones themselves." All figures wear their native costume (Herakles is nude) and are carved in a blocky, ornately stylized manner that



160. Relief from the east terrace of the Hierothesion of Antiochos I, Figure 159. Antiochos shakes hands with Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. Others show him with Zeus-Oromasdes and the nude Artagnes-Herakles; a lion surrounded by stars (the constellation Leo), with his horoscope; and an eagle and squatting lion. H ca. 6 1/2 ft. (2 m). Nemrud Dag, in situ.

with their quiet, formalized postures and sumptuous oriental attire underscores the king's ostentatious piety and his own exalted state at the court of the Immortals.

Overlooking each terrace at the foot of the tumulus sit a row of five thirty-foot-high figures in coursed masonry (Figure 159). As Antiochos himself explains with elaborate, Asian-style rhetoric:

> I selected this place, holy and accessible to all, to display the enthronement of the gods, so that not only this heroic account of my ancestors which you see should exist as evidence of my concerns, but also that the sacred image of the manifest gods should be consecrated upon this hallowed crest to bear witness that not even this place is bereft of my piety.
>
> Thus as you see I placed these images of divine majesty, Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, Artagnes-Herakles, and Commagene my own all-nurturing land; and both conjoined with the Immortals in one stone my own image, and made the ancient honor of the Great Gods a companion of a new Fortune, cherishing this rightful representation of divine forethought, which has often revealed itself as my manifest comrade through friendly help in the wars of kings.

Lions and eagles flank each quintet, and all the figures wear local dress; now identified with the Iranian Verathragna (Artagnes in Greek), Herakles is draped. Their massive faces are neoclassic in structure, strongly articulated and modeled in simple, broad planes, but their emphatic features are powerfully stylized in the Iranian manner. Magniloquent even in their ruin, when intact they must have been quite overwhelming: lonely beacons of Asiatic grandeur in the twilight of the Hellenistic world.

12

RECEPTION

In theory, a culture's responses to its artworks should tell us what that culture thought important or interesting about them, and thus should help to illuminate not only its expectations and reactions to them, but also (because all artists envisage their work in terms of an audience) their makers' intentions and achievements. Yet as a leading philosopher of art once perceptively remarked, "The spectator will always understand more than the artist intended, and the artist will always have intended more than any single spectator understands." Moreover, in practice, literary responses may be shaped, wholly or in part, by the protocols of genre and (in this period) specific literary, social, political, and courtly agendas, which may set priorities, select subjects, and guide reactions. But even skewed and filtered responses are better than none.

This chapter explores responses of several different kinds. *Analogies* between Hellenistic literature and art – for example, between Alexandrian pastoral poetry and tomb painting (Figure 158) or between Eastern Greek (so-called Asiatic) rhetoric and the baroque (Figures 8, 46, 57–60), occasionally mentioned in earlier chapters – must be left aside. The topic is too vast and slippery. Instead, we focus on direct *responses* either to particular objects or to particular artists and styles.

EPIGRAM AND *ENARGEIA*

The most common Hellenistic literary response to artworks, indeed to objects of all kinds, was the epigram. Several thousand of them survive, gathered into two main collections: the *Greek Anthology* in sixteen books, a vast medley compiled in the Middle Ages from various sources, about half of them Hellenistic;

and the Milan Papyrus, published only in 2000 (Figure 10). This Hellenistic poetry book preserves more than one hundred epigrams (some very fragmentary) attributed to the early third-century poet Poseidippos of Pella, who, like many of the poets of the *Anthology*, lived and wrote in Alexandria.

The artworks that these poets selected range from inscribed tombstones to engraved gems to statues and paintings, and the primary tool is *enargeia*: vivid writing that both brings the work to life and prompts creative engagement with it. Virtuoso exercises in condensation, the best of them revel in complex double entendres, multiple meanings, and wittily veiled allusions. (Perhaps the most comparable poetic forms in English would be the Elizabethan sonnet and the limerick.)

Thus, a notorious set of more than three dozen epigrams, each striving to cap its predecessors, celebrates the supposedly unique realism of Myron's fifth-century bronze cow, and another dozen re-create Aphrodite's first glimpse of Praxiteles' statue of her at Knidos (Figure 104). For example:

> Paphian Kythereia came through the waves to Knidos,[1]
> Wanting to see her very own image,
> And having viewed it from all sides in its far-seen shrine,
> She cried: "Where did Praxiteles see me naked?"

Next, more succinctly:

> "Paris, Adonis, and Anchises saw me naked. These are all
> I know of; but how did Praxiteles contrive it?"

And a third, topping the first one:

> Praxiteles did not look on forbidden things, but the iron
> Carved the Paphian goddess just as Ares wanted her.

These seemingly banal stanzas in fact preserve some vital clues about the Knidia and her reception. She herself could be seen from all sides but amusingly had overlooked Praxiteles as he stood before her, chisel in hand. Only those who knew the statue would get the point: Aphrodite was turning toward – and as other sources add, smiling at – a third party off to the right, probably her divine lover, Ares. We have explored the love triangle that Praxiteles sets up here, its clever articulation of the goddess's divine power, and its huge impact on the genre, in Chapter 8.

Another four epigrams respond to an Alexander by Lysippos (see Figure 4). For example:

> Lysippos, Sikyonian sculptor, hand so bold,
> Keen smith: Your bronze's eyes are blazing, cast
> In Alexander's guise. Blame not the Persian foe,
> For we forgive the cows that flee the lion.

1 Paphian Kythereia: Aphrodite. According to Greek myth, she was born in the sea, either near the town of Paphos on Cyprus or near the island of Kythera in Greece.

And:

> Lysippos cast both Alexander's form and his
> Audacity. How great the bronze's force!
> This statue seems to look at Father Zeus and say:
> "You take Olympos! Me let earth obey!"

The first epigram, by Poseidippos, foregrounds Alexander's fiery glance and his rampage through Persia like a marauding lion. This reasserts the contention that his other portraitists, preoccupied by his slightly crooked neck and melting, limpid eyes (a trait he shared with the Knidia, Figure 104!), "failed to preserve his virile and leonine demeanor." Wedded to mere realism and fixated on externals, they missed his essence.

The second epigram, probably by Poseidippos's famed contemporary Asklepiades, slyly responds to Apelles' Alexander Thunderbolt-Bearer (see Figure 24) by stressing that being content "only" to rule the earth, the king leaves heaven to Zeus. The poet obviously liked Lysippos's acid put-down of Apelles' "godlike" portraits of the king ("*My* Alexander holds only a spear, his true and proper weapon, whose glory Time will never take away"), yet he himself also deftly puts down the king for his vast – and eventually vain – ambitions.

Another set of twenty epigrams from the Milan Papyrus entitled "On Stones" sets up a kind of virtual museum – a poetic gem cabinet – and still others go further, venturing into *ekphrasis*.

EPIGRAM AND *EKPHRASIS*

The term *ekphrasis*, or "vividly pictorial literary description," embraces a vast range of ancient descriptive writing about all sorts of subjects, beginning with Homer's famous account of the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18 and expanding to embrace not only a huge variety of artworks, but also descriptions of natural wonders, scenes, events, people, and so on. Several Hellenistic tours de force of this sort are preserved, of which probably the most famous is the early third-century Syracusan poet Theokritos's long, wryly antiheroic account of a peasant's wooden cup carved with three scenes, one of which strongly recalls statues such as Figure 139:

> Carven elsewhere an ancient fisher stands
> On jagged rocks. Thereto he drags with pains
> His bulky casting-net, as one that toils
> Full stoutly. Every fiber of his frame
> Seems fishing; so about the graybeard's neck
> (In strength a youngster yet) the sinews swell.

Some Hellenistic poets condensed such descriptions into epigrammatic form, such as Poseidippos's verses on Lysippos's Kairos (Figure 161) and Hekataios's Philitas (Figure 76), and Antiphilos's epigram on Timomachos's Medea (Figure 162).



161. Kairos ("Opportunity"), Roman-period sarcophagus panel (carved in Athens) after a bronze of ca. 330 by Lysippos. The god, winged at back and at the heel, runs on tiptoe, balancing a pair of scales on a razor held in his left hand, while steadying it with his right. His hair, long at the front and sides, is clean-shaven at the back, recalling the proverb "Seize Time by the forelock." The composition, known in half-a-dozen examples, does not quite fit Poseidippos's epigram (penned around fifty years after the statue was made), where the right hand carries the razor, and may copy a different version of the work. H 23 5/8 in. (60 cm). Turin, Museo Archeologico.

The first of these three epigrams turns this personification of Opportunity (Figure 161) into a teasing riddle that becomes a moral lesson: "Seize time by the forelock!" Because a prose *ekphrasis* by the imperial-period writer Kallistratos calls it "the only creator of beauty," it may also have served as Lysippos's own artistic credo:

A. Who and whence the sculptor? B. Sikyon. A. His name?
B. Lysippos. A. And you? B. Opportunity, the all-subduing.
A. Why stand on tiptoe? B. I'm always running. A. And why
The pair of wings on your feet? B. I fly with the wind.
A. And why the razor in your right hand? B. It's a sign to men
That I'm sharper than any blade.
A. And why the hair over your face? B. For those I meet to take me
By the forelock, by Zeus. A. And why are you bald in back?
B. Because once I've raced by on my winged feet
No one, even if he wants to, can grab me from behind.
A. Why did the artist fashion you? B. For your sake, stranger,
And set me up in the porch as a lesson.

So in every venture – art included – the moment is fleeting, and success, poised on a razor's edge, is an opportunity to be seized rather than a peak to be scaled. Lysippos's greatest client and supreme master of the critical moment, Alexander (Figures 3–4), would have agreed.

Poseidippos's other epigram, quoted in Chapter 6, celebrates Hekataios's bronze of the realist poet Philitas (Figure 76) – all but forgotten today but once a key player in the formation of a specifically Alexandrian literary



162. Medea, Roman fresco fragment from Pompeii perhaps after a Hellenistic painting by Timomachos of Byzantion (his dates are problematic: late fourth or early first century?). Sheathed sword in hand, the "barbarian" princess and sorceress considers whether to kill her children in order to take revenge on Jason for divorcing her. Her posture recalls the Demosthenes by Polyeuktos (Figure 85), but her strongly averted head suggests a more intense mental anguish. H 4 1/2 ft. (1.37 m). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

aesthetic. The poet simultaneously promotes a new kind of realistic sculptural canon, or rule – the "straight canon of truth" – to rival the fifth-century Old Master Polykleitos's categorically ideal one; creates a threefold hierarchy of portrait modes – realist, heroic, and godlike – to match, respectively, Philitas (Figure 76), Alexander (Figures 4, 22), and King Ptolemy himself (Figure 31); and covertly promotes Poseidippos's own particular poetic agenda, since he was Philitas's fervent admirer.

The third epigram, based on Aristotelian and Stoic ethics like the painting it describes, positions us squarely in front of the picture. To quote a lively nineteenth-century translation:

> When Timomachos' calligraphic hand designed
> To paint Medea's much distracted mind,
> It chose a mighty task, the double power to prove
> Of jealous hatred and maternal love.
> That burning passion wants a glance to anger bent,
> And this as strongly to compassion leant.
> These two it equally achieved. The picture is the gauge:
> Tears mix with threats, and pity melds with rage,
> As sages say, "The goal is key." The deed thus planned
> Befits Medea's, not the artist's hand.

Directing us to contemplate the critical moment of choice that reveals character – here, Medea's torn psyche as evoked by the painter's back-and-forth brushstrokes (Figure 162) – it ends with a clever reprise of its own first line that deftly rescues the artist from the moral disintegration of his subject.

WOMAN'S EYE, WOMAN'S TONGUE

Uniquely in antiquity, Hellenistic poetry preserves numerous female responses to artworks: real, simulated, and parodied.

Three early Hellenistic female poets – Erinna, Anytē, and Nossis – wrote epigrams on artworks. The "woman-tongued" Nossis from Lokroi in southern Italy has left us seven epigrams on women's dedications. Characterized by a warm, intimate tone; use of the matronymic ("daughter of …"); artful allusions to women's work, particularly weaving; and quiet disdain for the machismo of the male-authored epigrams, they introduce us to a "virtual museum" like Poseidippos's, but one that is populated exclusively by women. Three dedications to Aphrodite are typical:

> Let's go, girls, to Aphrodite's temple to see her statue,
> How finely it's embellished with gold.
> Polyarchis dedicated it, having made a great fortune
> From the splendor of her own body.

> Joyfully, indeed, I think, Aphrodite receives this gift,
> A headdress from Samytha's own hair,
> For it is elaborate, and smells sweetly in some way of nectar;
> With this she too anoints the beautiful Adonis.

This tablet Kallō set up in the house of blond Aphrodite,
A portrait she commissioned, like her in every way.
How tenderly she stands! See how blooms her charm!
May she fare well: her way of life is blameless.

Using cleverly ambiguous grammar, all three quatrains subtly conflate goddess and mortal dedicator. Polyarchis ("Mistress of Many"), clearly a *hetaira*, or courtesan, seems to rival Aphrodite in splendor. Samytha's hair smells of divine nectar, and is it she or Aphrodite who anoints Adonis? And is the picture of Kallō ("Lovely") like her, like the goddess, or like both? A subtler poet than Poseidippos, Nossis smiles on her subjects regardless of their occupation or status and celebrates their specifically feminine virtues: sensuality, beauty, tenderness, charm, innocence, and – in her remaining poems – their dignity, wisdom, and kindness.

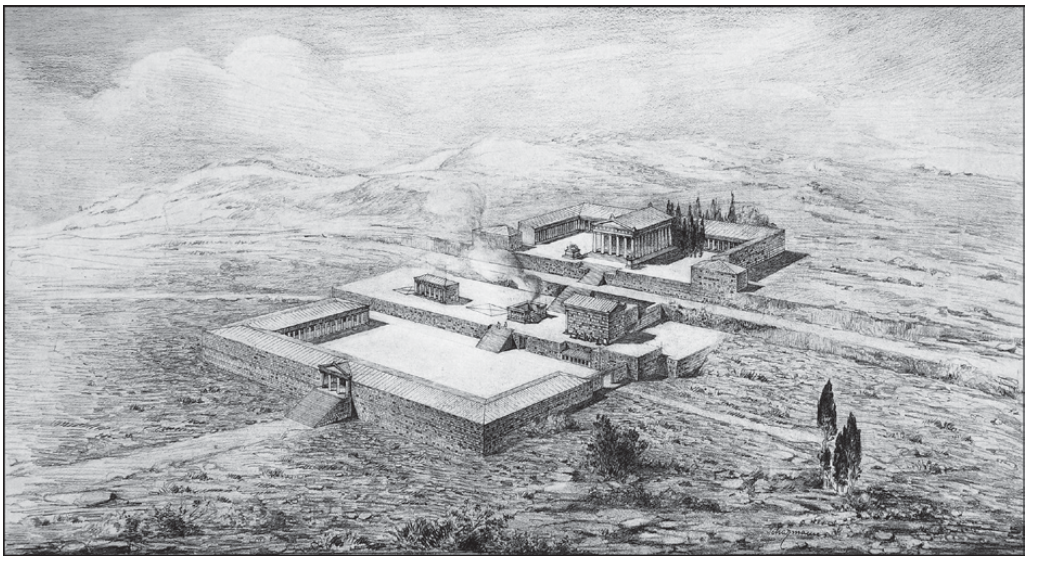
By contrast, the great Theokritos, taking a break from his beloved pastoral, vividly portrays Alexandrian city life in *Idyll* 15. Two women and their slave girls are off to the palace for Adonis's festival. After arranging child care, tidying up, checking that the house is locked, and battling through the crowded streets, they finally enter the palace and admire the stage hung with tapestries and bearing Adonis on his silver couch:

GORGO
Praxinoa! Check out these embroideries first!
How delicate they are – drapes fit for gods!

PRAXINOA
Athena! My, what seamstress toiled upon
Such work? What artist visualized and drew
Such scenes? Just as in life they stand or move,
They're really real! How smart some people are!
How bright, how lifelike on his silver couch
He lies, youth's bloom scarce shadowing his cheek,
Our dear Adonis, lovely still in death!

Once simply dismissed as comic parody, these lines use enough weaving terms to establish both women as experts. Indeed, Praxinoa had packed off her husband earlier to buy dyeing and cleaning materials; told her maid to put away the spinning; scolded her for wetting her new dress; and bemoaned a rip in her own light summer wrap. She has the eye of a skilled weaver. And for good measure, veiled allusions throughout the poem artfully ventriloquize Nossis's "woman's tongue."

This "idyll" looks suspiciously like a mime (a skit often intended for entertainment at the symposion – still an all-male affair), and Herodas, a contemporary of Theokritos, viciously parodies it as such. Tailing the women, the bossy Kynnō and her naïve friend Kokkalē, as they stroll admiringly through a sanctuary of Asklepios (Figure 163), the misogynistic poet reduces their reactions to bathos, while simultaneously savoring each artwork's particular expressive effect:



163. Reconstruction of the Hellenistic Asklepieion at Kos. The sanctuary rises majestically above the plain in three terraces, though the crowning temple of Asklepios and its framing stoas were not added until the mid-second century. The Praxitelean statuettes that embellished the monumental altar on the middle terrace, and the type and location of the preserved statue bases between it and the fourth-century temple at right, indicate that this is the sanctuary described in Herodas, *Mime* 4, quoted in this chapter.

KOKKALĒ: O Kynnō dear!
What lovely statues! Who, I wonder, carved
These stones and dedicated them right here?
KYNNŌ: Praxiteles's sons: Just look, and read
The writing on their base. And Euthies
The son of Praxōn set them up.
KOKKALĒ: Paiōn
Apollo, favor them and Euthies
For all the marvelous work they've done.
KYNNŌ: See, dearie, that young maiden staring up
At yonder apple hanging high. Now, won't
She faint away if it's beyond her grasp?
KOKKALĒ: And that old geezer, Kynnō – Fates! Look how
That little boy is choking that poor goose!
KYNNŌ: If it weren't clearly stone before our feet,
You'd say it would be squawking mad! Ye gods!
Soon men will even bring dumb rocks to life!
KOKKALĒ: And Kynnō! Come and see this portrait here
Of Battalē, old Myttis' child! Look how the girl
Is posed! Not knowing her but seeing this,
You wouldn't need her in the flesh at all!



164. Boy strangling a goose, marble copy after a third- or second-century Hellenistic original perhaps by Boethos of Kalchedon. The subject is mock-heroic, playing on such works as the infant Herakles fighting off the snakes that Hera sent to kill him. The boy's hair knot suggests that he may be Harpokrates, the Egyptian god of silence, who naturally hated noisy creatures such as the goose. Herodas mentions a similar group but calls the bird a *chēnalopex*, or fox-goose, a smaller subspecies found chiefly in Egypt; this variant is also known in Roman copy. H 33 1/8 in. (84 cm). Munich, Glyptothek.

KYNNŌ: Now follow me, my dear, and I'll show you
A lovelier thing than you have ever seen
In all your life. Kydilla! Go and call
The sacristan – yes you! Don't stand and gawp …
[*After more such banter they enter the temple*.]
KOKKALĒ: You see, Kynnō my dear? What works of art!
Would you not say Athena there had carved
These beauties by herself? (O Mistress, hail!)
And there's that naked lad: If I scratched him
Would it not leave a mark, Kynnō? For look!
His pretty flesh throbs oh so hot, just like
A thermal spa! And see those silver tongs!
If Myellos should spy them, painted here,
Or Pataikiskos, Lamprōn's son, their eyes
Would pop out right away, in the belief

That they are really silver, through and through.
The ox, too, with the man and girl in front,
And then that hook-nosed fellow, and the one
Whose hair is sticking up on end – aren't they
The living day? If it weren't such bad form,
Then I'd have shrieked in fear of that huge beast
Injuring me. He's shooting me that sideways glance,
Dear Kynnō, staring with his single eye!

KYNNŌ: Yes, dear, Apelles' hands spoke truthfully
In all they drew, so one could never say:
"That man saw this and didn't notice that."
Whatever it occurred to him to paint
He aced, just like the gods, and anyone
Who's given him or works of his a glance
Or so and nothing more – he should be strung
Up by the foot like laundry on a line!

Now, Kynnō and Kokkalē mean "Bitch" and "Twat," respectively, and as for the latter's extravagant predictions of fainting females, gabbling geese (compare Figure 164), preternatural portraits, sexy slaves, and ominous oxen: Anyone who slights Apelles' genius deserves to be "strung up by the foot like laundry on a line!"

Yet even so, behind the comedy lurk some key concerns of Hellenistic art criticism: beauty (*to kalon*), truth to appearances (*alētheia*), technical virtuosity (*technē*), and the articulation of emotion (*pathos*) and character (*ēthos*). Herodas has done his homework, and (just like Damophon: see Chapter 7) he wants the insiders in his audience to understand, approve, and enjoy.

ART INTO POETRY; POETRY INTO ART?

Scholars have long speculated that Hellenistic artists might have responded in kind to *ekphraseis* such as Theokritos's on the old fisherman, quoted earlier in this chapter, but because Hellenistic art of this kind (e.g., Figure 139) cannot be dated securely and Roman reproductions account for much of it, borrowings of this sort are almost impossible to prove. For example, does Figure 165 (known in several versions, so probably based on a Hellenistic original) take its cue from Alexandrian faux-naïve, soft-porn pastorals, such as this idyll that was once optimistically ascribed to Theokritos, or vice versa?

MAIDEN: Satyr, what mean you? You presume too much.
DAPHNIS: This breast is round and pleasant to the touch.
MAIDEN: Oh Pan, I'm going to faint! Unhand me, pray!
DAPHNIS: Why be so timorous? Pretty coward, stay!
MAIDEN: This bank is wet. You've soiled my lovely gown.
DAPHNIS: See, a soft fleece to save it I put down.
MAIDEN: And you've undone my sash. What can this mean?



165. Satyr molesting a nymph, Roman fresco from the Casa dei Epigrammi at Pompeii. Popular in both painting and sculpture, the scene derives from a third- or second-century Hellenistic original. As in the pseudo-Theokritean *Idyll* quoted in this chapter, the girl is torn between resistance and surrender. H 14 1/2 in. (37 cm). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

DAPHNIS: This sash I'll offer to the Paphian Queen.[2]
MAIDEN: Stay, scoundrel – someone comes – I heard a noise!
DAPHNIS: It's just the coppice whispering of our joys.
MAIDEN: You've torn my cloak, and now I'm half unclad!
DAPHNIS: Well, soon I'll give you yet an ampler plaid.

2 The Paphian Queen: Aphrodite.



166. Polyphemos embraces the nymph Galatea, Roman fresco from the Casa della Caccia Antica at Pompeii. Illustrating an inverted form of the story (usually she spurns him), the picture shows the lovelorn Cyclops attaining his longed-for goal. He has laid his Panpipes and shepherd's crook aside, and one of his rams stands nearby, pointedly ignoring the amorous couple. H 30 3/4 in. (78 cm). Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

Awkwardly, sometimes the art contradicts the texts. A painting known in four Pompeian versions catches Polyphemos and the nymph Galateia minutes before making love (Figure 166) – a seemingly straightforward piece of erotica followed up by other Pompeian pictures of Galateia eagerly mounting him. Not so. Theokritos, who wrote two famous idylls (6 and 11) on the lovelorn Cyclops's unrequited passion for her, is adamant that she spurned him, milking the tale with delicious irony. The mainstream Pompeian pictorial tra-

dition agrees, showing Galateia serenely floating past the crestfallen Cyclops, riding a dolphin or seahorse.

Only a tiny scrap of verse by Theokritos's great contemporary, Kallimachos, and a few stray references in Roman-period poetry testify to the version shown in Figure 166. So was it merely following this minority tradition? Was it cheekily challenging the other? Was Kallimachos responding to the picture, or were both of them responding to an idiosyncratic variant of the myth? Because art and literature can be sturdily independent of each other (and often were), one is tempted to throw in the towel in frustration and focus solely on the rich Roman dossier of such paintings, their contexts, and their complex interrelations. But not all questions have an answer and not all answers are necessarily to hand. Sometimes it is the asking that counts.

THE GLORY OF THE PTOLEMIES

The prose counterparts to these poetic *ekphraseis* are Kallixeinos of Rhodes's vivid descriptions of Ptolemy II Philadelphos's sumptuous symposion tent (Figure 127) and great procession, and Ptolemy IV Philopator's fabulous riverboat and mighty battleship, all but the last translated in Appendix B: the main surviving fragments of his book *About Alexandria*. Relentlessly grandiloquent eulogies of the glory of the Ptolemies, they celebrate the family's supposedly unique status as Alexander's legitimate heirs; unrivaled military power; unprecedented command of resources; unmatched opulence, or *tryphē*; unparalleled appreciation of art and culture; and unstinting generosity to their subjects in particular and to the Greek world in general. Kallixeinos paints them, in other words, as the Hellenistic monarchs and benefactors par excellence.

As it happens, Pliny lists a certain "Callixenus" (the same man?) among the "inferiors" who revived the art of bronze casting in the mid-second century, and a late source tells us that a Kallixeinos also wrote a now-lost "Account of Painters and Sculptors." This now-spectral scroll may serve to introduce this chapter's two final sections.

ART CRITICISM, HISTORY, THEORY

Pliny's put-down of "Callixenus" and his fellow "inferiors" introduces us to the widely shared view among Hellenistic critics that the work of the great classical masters, especially that of Lysippos and Praxiteles (see Figures 68, 104), signaled art's proper fulfillment (*telos*), or even its predestined terminus. Two of these critics, Xenokrates of Athens and Antigonos of Karystos (practicing bronze workers active in the third century), theorized these ideas into evolutionary sequences that Pliny mined with gusto. Apparently they jettisoned the usual sunny musings about beauty, vividness, virtuosity, and so on, in favor of a set of austerely formal criteria: composition, proportion, and accuracy of detail in sculpture, and these plus line, color, and perspective

in painting: the first true formalist art criticism. Thus, compared with his predecessors, Lysippos (Figures 4, 68):

> . . . is said to have contributed much to the art [of bronze sculpture] by rendering the hair in more detail, and by making the heads of his figures smaller than the old sculptors used to do, and the bodies slenderer and leaner, to give an appearance of greater height. Latin has no word for the *symmetria* [proportioning] that he most scrupulously preserved by a new and hitherto untried system that modified the foursquare figures of the ancients; and he used to say that while they had made men as they were, he made men as they appeared to be. His distinguishing characteristic is his scrupulous attention to detail in even the smallest particulars.

An epigram on Lysippos by Poseidippos, introducing the section of his poetry book entitled "On Statue-Making," invokes several other aspects of this hybrid historicocritical tradition:

> Imitate these works, and the antique laws of colossi,
> Statue-makers – yes! – Outrun them!
> For if the ancient hands of [Dry]ops or of Hageladas,
> A pre-Polykleitan, wholly primitive practitioner of the art,
> Or the hard creations of the D[aidalids] were to enter the field,
> There'd be no reason at all to invoke Lysippos's new grace
> As a touchstone. But if need should arise,
> And a contest among moderns occur, he'd thrash them all.

Here, then, Poseidippos lists various Old Master sculptors; makes the earliest known reference to a "hardness scale" that classified them according to the decreasing severity and increasing suppleness of their work; and acclaims Lysippos's "new grace" as the art's climax. This grace, manifested, for example, in the lightly poised Getty Bronze (Figure 68), was cultivated also by Apelles and became generally accepted as the key to their success. All this soon evolved into yet another species of art criticism: the comparison of artistic and rhetorical styles, inevitably focused once again on the classical Old Masters. As mentioned earlier in this chapter (see Figures 10, 76), its chief criteria were beauty (*to kalon*), truth to appearances (*alētheia*), technical virtuosity (*technē*), and the articulation of emotion (*pathos*) and character (*ēthos*).

As for art history proper, after Xenokrates and Antigonos, one anonymous second-century chronicler also used by Pliny assigned the major Greek sculptors and painters to individual Olympiads – four-year spans beginning supposedly in 776 with the first Olympic Games. Codifying the negative judgments on Hellenistic bronzework noted earlier, he dismissed the entire third and early second centuries as a time when bronze casting simply "stopped." A die-hard neoclassicist who disliked the main Hellenistic styles (realism, the baroque, and so on) enough to erase them from history, he thought that this art had reached its proper fulfillment in Olympiad 121 (296/293), had "ceased" thereafter, and had been revived only in Olympiad 156 (156/153) at the hands of "inferiors"; there, tantalizingly, his chronology abruptly stops.



167. Athena Parthenos, scaled-down (thirty-percent) marble version from the Royal Library at Pergamon after the original by Pheidias, ca. 200–180. An example of the transition from neoclassic work that sought to evoke or recall fifth- and fourth-century classic styles to more or less straightforward copying, and of the exalted position that Pheidias and his great gold and ivory cult statues now held in the Hellenistic imagination, this Athena Parthenos presided over the Library's holdings of literature and science: a goddess of culture rather than cult. H 11 1/2 in. (3.51 m). Berlin, Pergamon Museum.

By the end of the Hellenistic period, we hear of numerous histories of Greek architecture; guidebooks to sites, regions, and monuments; a book entitled *Athenian Votive Offerings*; another book by Pasiteles, a versatile practicing sculptor, on *Famous Artworks of the World*; and Latin textbooks on Greek architecture, sculpture, painting, and gem carving. With them, the foundations for the work of Vitruvius, Pliny, Quintilian, and Pausanias – and art history as practiced today and in this book – were firmly in place.

PHILOSOPHERS AND *PHANTASIA*

The neoclassical movement soon began to generate actual copies of the great classical masterpieces (Figures 23, 63, 104, 167, etc.) alongside works in a generally or partially classicizing style (Figures 7, 94–95, 169–70). Challenged to explain why the works of the Old Masters were so compelling, Hellenistic intellectuals promptly created the so-called *phantasia* theory either to accompany this movement or to underpin it.

Thus Quintilian, for example, remarks that the beauty of Pheidias's statues had added something to the traditional religion and that he alone had captured the majesty of the gods. Others soon fantasized that he and Praxiteles had gone up to heaven, copied the forms of the gods (Figures 104, 167), and come back to earth to re-create them, turning their mental impressions (*phantasiai*) of their appearance and powers into sculpture. "For imitation (*mimēsis*) will represent that which can be seen with the eyes, but *phantasia* will represent that which cannot."

Qualitatively different from mere free-floating imagination, this concept of *phantasia* was borrowed from the Hellenistic philosophers, who had defined it as a sense-impression (real or imagined) rationally processed into a vivid and compelling visualization. As Quintilian remarked elsewhere: "The things that the Greeks call *phantasiai* we call visualizations, through which images of absent things are so presented to the mind that we seem to perceive them with our eyes and have them present before us. Whoever best perceives these will be able to generate the most powerful emotions." Classicism thus gained an all but unassailable justification: For who could seriously dispute the collective wisdom of the rhetoricians and philosophers?

APPENDIX A

THE ARTIST

ARTIST AND CRITIC REVISITED

At first sight, Hellenistic art looks like the product of runaway artistic virtuosity and untrammeled self-assertion. Paradoxically, though, we know far less about Hellenistic *artists* than about their classical predecessors, and the ancient critics usually judged them inferior to the latter. This prejudice infected Winckelmann and his followers (see the Introduction), and it still thrives today. As we saw in Chapter 12, it is most clearly articulated in Pliny's history of Greek bronze statuary, which allegedly "ceased" in 293 and was revived again only in 156 at the hands of "inferiors." Yet Quintilian also thought that both painting and sculpture languished after 300, and Pausanias's patience with Hellenistic art (the classicizing Damophon's work apart: Figures 94–95) is short compared with his fondness for the classical.

These critics all regarded the classical style as art's predestined climax and promoted its revival. Neoclassical prejudice of this kind, fueled by the practice of collecting and the canonization of "Old Masters" such as the fifth-century Athenian sculptor Pheidias (see Figure 167), sought to consign the baroque (Figures 8, 46, 57–60, etc.) and other non-classicizing or insufficiently classicizing work – both artistic and literary – to oblivion (see Box 1, p. 17: "Classicism and the Baroque"). In this vein, A. W. Lawrence, the author of an early study of Hellenistic sculpture, once wittily invoked the nineteenth-century British Pre-Raphaelites. Their catalogue of paintings in the Louvre dismissed Raphael as "slosh," called his successors "filthy slosh," and stridently championed medieval art instead. (The ancient critics usually were more polite. They simply ignored what they disliked.)

Yet other factors were involved, too, including the failure of the great classical artists to gain general acceptance as intellectual and creative equals to the poets, historians, orators, and philosophers; artists' continuing need to work *for others* for a living; the hands-on nature of their labor; the widespread feeling that these classical Old Masters had "done it all" and could not be surpassed; the cramping effect of genre styles; and so on.

But before tackling all this, we need to consider the facts.

WORKSHOPS, WAGES, PRICES, PROFITS

Usually located in private houses, most workshops were family affairs involving the artist/craftsman, his assistants and apprentices (often his sons), and his slaves. When the sons inherited the business, sometimes they continued to collaborate, sometimes not. On Rhodes, Hellenistic sculptors and foundry men signed their bronzes jointly and presumably worked in partnership, and three unrelated Rhodians ran a successful business making large-scale marble baroque groups for the Romans (Figures 8, 66–67, 168), but they were the exceptions.

Architectural projects (Figures 5, 12–15, 47–51, etc.) were more complex. Besides the architect himself, they could involve several major contractors; sundry stonemasons, metalworkers, carpenters, and painters; and numerous slaves (some of whom were skilled craftsmen in their own right). Artists often traveled to execute commissions, but sometimes (especially when exporting to Italy: Figure 170) a sculptor would all but complete his project in the workshop, sign it in some inconspicuous place, ship it, and leave its finish and installation to others.

How much did they earn? Workers' wages could vary from half a drachma to several drachmas per day, depending on the job, their skill level, and the identity of the client. Royal and private commissions could be very lucrative, civic ones far less so, but these made up in prestige what they lacked in hard cash. A common alternative was piecework, ranging from a handful of drachmas to hundreds or even thousands per job. Long-term jobs were scarce. Occasionally city architects were salaried, but there is no evidence that either sculptors or painters were, even at court.

Sculptors could get rich if they chose the right forte; became expert at it; were good at networking; and cornered a decent slice of the market. Some advertised themselves as all-rounders, but others specialized, selecting either bronze or marble as their preferred medium, and/or becoming either "makers of men" (*andriantopoioi*) or "makers of gods" (*agalmatopoioi*).

Portraiture was a particular goldmine. A life-size bronze portrait (e.g., Figure 68) normally cost 3,000 dr., or half a talent, in the fourth–third centuries and 2,000 dr. in the second century, probably because sculptors had learned to use less metal by thinning the walls of their bronzes to an amazing 1/8 inch (3 millimeters) or less (see captions to Figures 68

and 71).[1] After expenses, this would leave a tidy profit. Thus, for example, Praxiteles and his sons, who specialized in both bronze portraits of women and marble cult statues of the younger gods, became one of the wealthiest families in Athens, able to bear (in whole or in part) the cost of outfitting and maintaining six warships for the Athenian navy in less than ten years, an outlay of around 4–4 1/2 talents. Lysippos, Alexander's favorite portraitist and a specialist in the senior gods and heroes, some of them colossal, supposedly saved a gold piece for each of his 1,500 bronzes, leaving his three sons (also sculptors) a tidy legacy of around five talents at his death.

Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 7, an honorary decree from around 200 shows that Damophon (a specialist in marble cult statues) had become rich enough that he could forgive the city of Lykosoura's outstanding debt to him of 14,184 dr. (2 1/3 talents). This bonus to his fee for the colossal group illustrated in Figures 94–95 had been triggered by some contract violation on the city's part. He then forgave a further 5,000 dr. he had spent on hiring quarrymen, carters, and other help, and made and gave the city a statue of the goddess Hēgemonē ("Leader"). He and his family also made expensive dedications at Megalopolis and Messene, and his fellow Messenians honored him with a hero shrine when he died.

The leading sculptor of cult statues in the Hellenistic Peloponnese, Damophon was likely by far the richest. The decrees, which also record honors for his work from no fewer than seven cities, show how this blend of the right specialization, artistic expertise, and conspicuous civic philanthropy could be a goldmine. Wisely investing in land, Damophon not only gained status thereby, but also enabled his heirs to hold office and to make expensive dedications in their hometown for several generations. Yet the actual *carvers* of such marbles were far less well paid, as were those of architectural and decorative sculptures; and at the bottom end of the scale, some terracotta figurine makers (or *coroplasts*: Figures 152–53) surely lived on or near the breadline.

Painters could be paid by the size of the picture, per figure, or by the job, as today. Although Ptolemaic papyri show that painted votive plaques sold for only 5–10 dr. and that redecorating three rooms of an Egyptian house in part with illusionistic frescoes cost a mere 53 dr., including 30 dr. for labor, high-end painters could become even richer than the sculptors.

Apelles (active ca. 360–300), a dazzling technician and Alexander's favorite painter, charged him the stupendous sum of 20 gold talents (more than 1.5 *million* dr., or 1,150 pounds, of gold) for his colossal Alexander

1 For convenience, it may be helpful to repeat the basic information given in Box 2, p. 23: "Hellenistic Money":
1 drachma (dr.) = .15 oz. or 4.3 grams of silver
100 dr. = 1 mina = almost 1 lb. or 430 gr. of silver
6,000 dr. = 60 minas = 1 talent = 57 lbs. or 25.8 kg of silver
For comparison, daily wages varied enormously, from half a drachma for an unskilled laborer to up to four drachmas for a mercenary.

Thunderbolt-Bearer at Ephesos (compare Figure 24), which was famed for the way in which the king's hand and thunderbolt stood out from the surface. Speculatively, Apelles also bought several pictures from his down-and-out rival Protogenes for 50 silver talents (300,000 dr.) and, when the market took notice and the latter's prices skyrocketed, sold them again for a tidy profit. His contemporary Nikias refused 60 silver talents for his Underworld and ostentatiously donated it to the city of Athens instead, while two other contemporary painters scored 30 minas (half a talent/3,000 dr.) per god and 20 minas (2,000 dr.) per hero, and so on.

Yet these men were active when the market was booming and awash with Alexander's plunder, and their successors probably failed to command such astronomical sums. Old Master paintings were another matter. In 146, Attalos II of Pergamon paid 100 talents (600,000 dr.) for a Dionysos by the fourth-century painter Aristeides. Other classic paintings fetched the same price in late republican Rome, as did Polykleitos's fifth-century bronze masterpiece, the Diadoumenos; evidently it was now the going rate for such works. These astronomical prices relative to contemporary wages and the cost of living were not exceeded until the art market boom of the late twentieth century.

Architects are a puzzle. When recorded on civic inscriptions, their wages are miserable: around two drachmas per day. Perhaps they were project managers, rather than architects proper. Yet a few architects were rich enough to finance their own buildings, and some were highly educated. Around 300, Leonidas of Naxos "made and dedicated" a splendid hotel, the Leonidaion, at Olympia, and in the late second century, Andronikos of Kyrrha gave the so-called Tower of the Winds (housing a huge mechanical model of the heavens) to Athens; it still stands, although the model has disappeared. As for education, Pytheos of Priene, who designed his city's Athena temple (Figures 5, 47), cheekily declared that a proper architect should be able to beat the specialists in every field, and Philon of Eleusis's speech in defense of his arsenal at Piraeus was remembered as a masterpiece of eloquence. Philon also made an offering – probably an expensive one – in the Athenian Asklepieion, and he even contributed half a talent to fund a warship for the Athenian navy. Perhaps, then, these were men of independent means, who regarded their services as civic benefactions and accepted token compensation only. As for salaried city architects, several appear in Hellenistic inscriptions, but their wages are not recorded.

What did the richer artists do with their surplus cash? Apart from making the occasional benefaction or dedication, some (like Damophon) bought land, ran for office in their hometowns, got their wives and daughters elected as priestesses, and so on. This distanced them from their labor, brought them closer to other professionals in reputation and status, and effectively gentrified them. The fact that they could be elected to office at all suggests an ability to network in society and a command of the highly prized elite skill of public speaking, or *rhetoric* – just like Philon.

SELF-PROMOTION, SELF-ESTEEM, AND STATUS

The signature remained the foremost means of artistic self-registration, for through it the artist/craftsman identified with his work; demonstrated his pride in it; and advertised himself to the public. Sculptors account for most of the Hellenistic signatures that survive (Figures 55, 67, 75, 169–70). This is because pot painters had ceased to sign long before red-figure vase painting died out in the late fourth century; all Hellenistic panel- and easel-painting is lost; and architects also had long since ceased to sign their buildings. Around two dozen gem carvers (Figures 24, 133) and a few mosaicists (Figures 101, 118, 121, 124), silversmiths, and makers of terracotta figurines also sign. The painters apart, this pattern roughly matches the hierarchy of the media implied in a conversation recorded by Xenophon in the early fourth century between Sokrates and the painter Parrhasios, the sculptor Kleiton, and the armorer Pistias, in that order.

It also matches another method of artistic self-promotion: the treatise, or how-to manual. Sixth-century architects and fifth-century sculptors had pioneered the practice, and books on painting and perspective by philosophers (investigating problems of vision and illusion) and professional painters soon followed. Like the contemporary philosophical, rhetorical, musical, and medical manuals, they required literacy, some education, and theoretical ability (if one ventured beyond mere nuts-and-bolts techniques), and they clearly signaled one's professional and intellectual pretensions. Suggestively, we hear of no such manuals by gem carvers, mosaicists, jewelers, or figurine makers, even though (as already noted) some were sufficiently proud of their work to sign it (Figures 24, 101, 118, 121, 124, 133).

By entering this world, these artists were bidding for acceptance on the same terms as the intellectuals – a bold move. Some opened art schools, charging their pupils high prices, just like other professionals did, and a privileged few even rubbed shoulders with the rich and powerful. Their wealth and connections, plus the prestige accrued from landowning, slave owning, election to office, occasional civic benefactions, and so on, surely helped. By distancing the artist from his labor, and thus from his traditionally lowly *ascribed* status as merely a "menial" worker, these factors enabled him to acquire a certain *achieved* status based on his own merits.

If even a few of Pliny's tales about the self-promoting antics of Apelles and others are credible, this rising tide of artistic self-promotion crested at the courts of Alexander and his immediate successors. So did these men profit from a general enhancement of personhood in this period that was fueled by Alexander and his conquests; the wealth and opportunities these generated; and their own prestigious proximity to men of seemingly limitless power, riches, and beneficence?

After this, the screen goes blank. Roman classicizing distaste for most things Hellenistic aside, two main reasons for this sudden, frustrating hiatus come to mind. First, there was the very success of the fifth-century "rhetorical

revolution" and its escalating impact on education and all other forms of intellectual activity. Hellenistic and Roman culture was a rhetorical culture where the primacy of the word (Figure 10) and of rhetorical modes of thought went unquestioned.

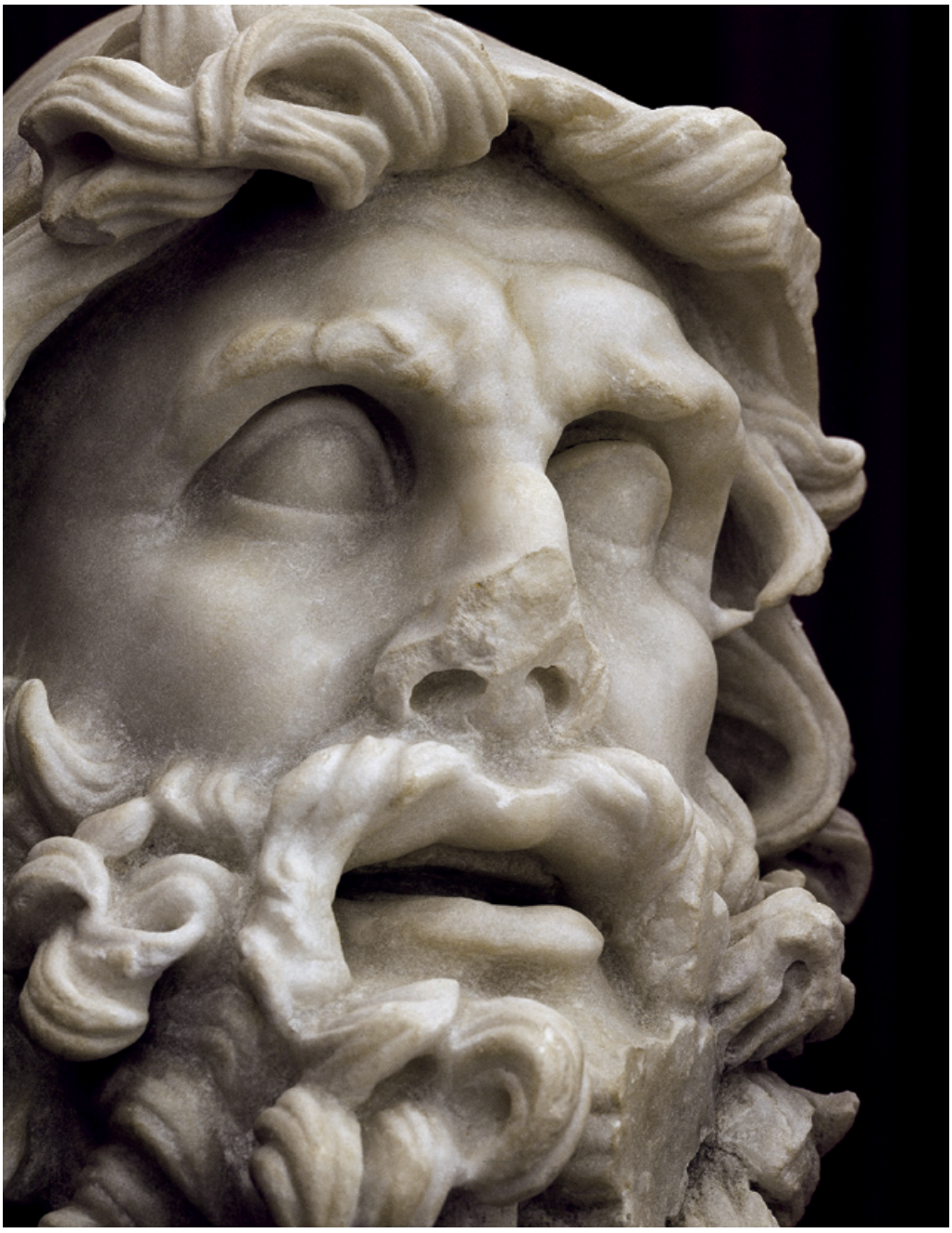
Second, the elite's disdain for working for others ("a kind of limited slavery"), and especially for manual labor, never diminished, keeping the craftsman's ascribed status low. Factor in the continuing mistrust of illusionistic art per se (Plato's assaults on its alarming ability to deceive had struck home); the cramping effect of genre styles; and the widespread feeling that the great classical masters such as Praxiteles and Pheidias (Figures 104, 167) were unsurpassable; and the hurdles would become insuperable.

So, with their project of self-promotion to achieve quasi-elite status on hold, Hellenistic artists' prestige in the larger world continued to hinge on their particular specialization(s) and the quality of their work. Extra credit, if any, depended in the cities on their success as businessmen, landowners, and/or politicians, and on the community's gratitude for their benefactions of either artworks or labor, particularly the restoration of damaged sculptures and paintings. In the monarchies, quality apart, it depended on their own personalities and the whims of king and court.

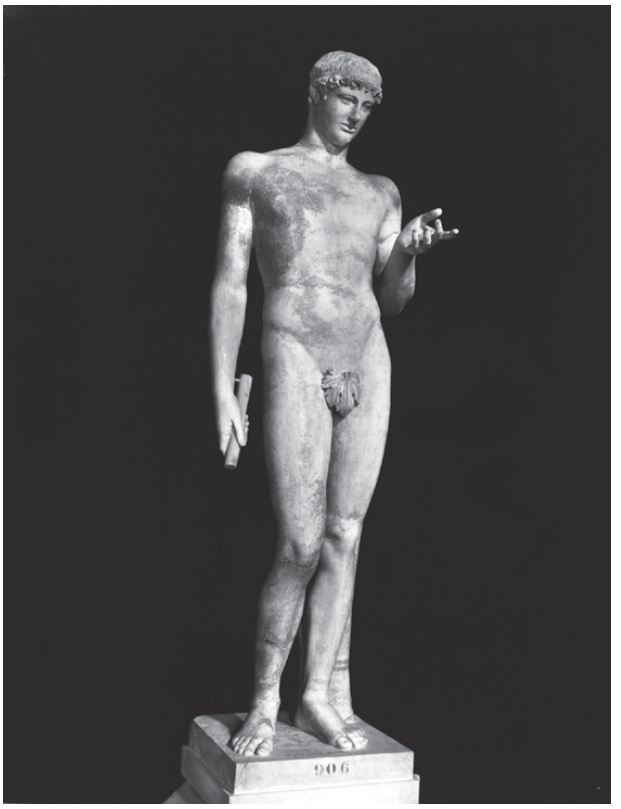
GREEK ARTISTS AT ROME

After 200, as Rome's shadow lengthened over the East and Roman triumphs flooded Italy with looted Greek masterpieces, the Romans' appetite for the latter became insatiable. In the public sphere, the demand for temples, porticoes, cult statues, and portraits mushroomed; and in the private one, every self-respecting Roman now wanted his own luxurious villa, complete with the finer trappings of Greek high culture: paintings (Figures 39–40, 162, 165–66), mosaics (Figures 3, 37, 129, 136–38), sculpture (Figures 8, 22–23, 27, 29, 32, 41–44, 63–67, 71–79, 81–85, 96, 104–6, 111–14, 139–40, 144, 161, 164, 168–70), silverware, glass (Figure 130), engraved gems, tapestries, and so on. Greek artists and architects occasionally had worked in Rome before, but as the river of plunder flowing westward became a flood, soon they began to migrate there in droves (Figures 8, 66, 168–70). Others who were less lucky arrived as slaves.

As a result, the Roman art market exploded, and those who could supply its desire for *decor* – for new items whose quality, style, and subject matter met its needs – found themselves lionized. The sculptor Pasiteles, for example, a Greek perhaps from one of the southern Italian colonies, both gained a stellar reputation with virtuoso works in marble, bronze, and other media and wrote a handbook entitled *Famous Artworks of the World*. Nothing of his survives, but two generations of pupils followed in his footsteps, producing decorative statues in a classicizing vein (Figure 169). Their remuneration is not recorded, but their contemporary Arkesilaos (who numbered Julius Caesar among his clients) perhaps may serve as an index. At one point, he received a commission from the younger Lucullus, the son



168. Odysseus, from the Blinding of Polyphemos at Sperlonga (see Figures 66–67), signed by Athanodoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros of Rhodes, the sculptors of the Laokoon (Figure 8), ca. 40–25. The aggressive modeling, emphatic chiseling, and virtuoso drilling isolate and accentuate the hero's features for greater drama and visibility in their remote setting at the back of the torch-lit grotto. On Rhodes, Hagesandros was among the dedicators of a bronze family group in the late 50s, and Athanodoros had received an important commission there in 42. Evidently they migrated to Italy, along with the otherwise unknown Polydoros, shortly thereafter. Athanodoros was the most successful of the three, for bases with his signature have turned up in Rome, Ostia, Anzio, and on Capri. Their small size and dissimilar lettering suggest that they bore miniature copies of his work. H 25 1/4 in. (64 cm). Sperlonga, Museo Nazionale.



169. A youth, plaster cast after a marble original from Rome of ca. 50 signed by Stephanos, pupil of Pasiteles. The sculptor has re-created the early classical, or "severe," style of the fifth century but has softened the figure's pose and features in order to give it a somewhat romantic and sentimental appearance. "Sexy boys" of this sort, often probably young slaves awaiting their masters' bidding, were popular in Roman villas. Because the youth's arms are restored and his attributes (if any) are lost, however, his identity remains uncertain. Known in several copies, the figure was also grouped with others to create new, eclectic mythological compositions (e.g., Orestes and his sister Elektra), presumably also intended for Roman villas. H 4 ft. 9 in. (1.44 m). Rome, Villa Albani.

of the fabulously wealthy consul of that name and victor over Mithradates (Figure 36), for a statue of Happiness that he priced at 1 million sesterces (250,000 dr., or almost 42 talents). On another occasion, he charged a whole talent for a plaster model of a marble krater (compare Figure 170) for a Roman aristocrat's villa.

Yet despite what many see as the disintegration of Hellenistic art under these new conditions, recognizably "great" work was still produced: for example, the Sperlonga marbles (Figures 66, 168) and many a Roman republican "verist" portrait. Perhaps, then, little had actually changed, and in the long run, the ups and downs of social acceptance had little to do with the wider art market, its requirements, and the ongoing craft and business of making art.



170. Marble krater, signed by Sosibios of Athens, ca. 50. Imported probably for the garden of a Roman villa, it reproduces a classical Greek krater type, like that from Derveni, Figure 146. Its decoration is also classicizing, enlivened with pseudo-archaic touches. It features copious moldings, a wreath of vine leaves and grapes around the neck (compare Figure 146), and a frieze of twelve assorted figures: a satyr playing the flutes, an armed "Pyrrhic" dancer, several maenads, Apollo playing a kithara, and Artemis and Hermes flanking an altar. Its foot is restored. It inspired John Keats's iconic *Ode on a Grecian Urn* (1819), later brilliantly summarized by Desmond Skirrow (1924–76):

> Gods chase
> Round vase.
> What say?
> What play?
> Don't know.
> Nice, though.

H 30 1/4 in. (76.9 cm). Paris, Louvre.

APPENDIX B

KALLIXEINOS OF RHODES ON THE WONDERS OF ALEXANDRIA

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHOS'S SYMPOSION TENT (ATHENAIOS 5, 196A: SEE FIGURE 127)

Kallixeinos of Rhodes … in his fourth book, *On Alexandria*, described the procession put on by that best of all kings, Ptolemy Philadelphos. He says: "Before I begin, I will describe the pavilion erected within the citadel, apart from the reception area for the soldiers, artisans, and foreigners. For it was exceptionally beautiful and worth hearing about.[B]

"It was big enough to hold a hundred and thirty couches placed end-to-end, and decked out as follows.[1] There were wooden columns at intervals, five on each long side, each fifty cubits [seventy-five feet] high, and one fewer on its short side. They supported a square epistyle that held the whole weight of the roof above the symposion. This roof was draped with a scarlet, white-fringed canopy; and on each side it had beams concealed by tapestries with white stripes, tower-fashion,[C] between which were a set of painted panels. Of the columns, four resembled palm trees, while those in the middle looked like *thyrsoi*. Around its exterior on three sides stood colonnaded porticoes with vaulted roofs where the diners' attendants would stand. Its interior was surrounded with purple curtains, and in the intercolumniations pelts of animals were hung,[D] marvelous in their variety and size.

1 End-to-end: literally "in a circle," but in fact (as the subsequent description of the colonnade shows), placed in a ∏-shaped arrangement.

"The portico's exterior, open to the air, was shaded by myrtle trees, laurels, and other suitable plants, and its entire floor was strewn with flowers of every description. For because of its temperate climate and the fondness of its inhabitants for gardening, Egypt produces in great abundance, all year round, plants that in other countries are either rare or found only seasonally. So roses, white lilies, and countless other flowers are never wanting there. So, although this event took place in midwinter, visitors from overseas found its floral displays quite incredible.[E]…

"And against the pavilion's columns stood marble statues by leading artists, one hundred in number. And in the intercolumniations there hung paintings by the Sikyonian School, alternating with images of every kind; and garments embroidered with gold, and most exquisite cloaks,[F] some with portraits of the kings [i.e., the Ptolemies] embroidered on them and others with mythological scenes. Above them hung alternating gold and silver Celtic shields; and in the spaces above those shields, each eight cubits [twelve feet] across, were cave-like recesses, six on each of the pavilion's long sides and four on its short one. These contained sympotic tableaux placed opposite one another, featuring tragic, comic, and satyric characters wearing real clothes. [197A] And beside them stood golden goblets. Between these recesses were niches with pedestals bearing golden Delphic tripods. And on the summit of the roof stood golden eagles facing one another, each fifteen cubits [twenty-two-and-a-half feet] high. There were also a hundred golden couches, with sphinxlike feet, placed on the two sides of the pavilion (for its front was left open).[B] Under them were laid purple carpets of the finest wool, with pile on both sides, and over them were draped exquisitely embroidered coverlets. Smooth Persian carpets also covered the entire central concourse, with realistic images of animals woven into them. And beside the reclining guests were placed three-legged golden tables, two hundred in all, making two per couch, standing on silver pedestals. And behind them were a hundred silver washbasins and an equal number of pitchers.[C] Opposite the diners stood a cabinet to display the cups, goblets, and everything else they needed. The latter were all made of gold studded with precious stones, wonderfully crafted. I thought it too tedious a task to enumerate each set and type of these vessels separately, but their combined weight totaled almost ten thousand silver talents."

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHOS'S GREAT PROCESSION (ATHENAIOS 5, 197C)

"But now we have finished with the pavilion and its contents, we shall describe the procession. For it passed through the city's stadium.[D] First of all marched the division of the Morning Star, because the procession began when that star first appears. Then came the division named after the parents of the kings. After them came the divisions of all the gods, each of them displaying exhibits appropriate to that deity's story. Last of all came the division of the Evening

Star, since because of the season [i.e., midwinter] the procession ended at that time. If anyone wants to know the details, let him consult the records of the quinquennial games.[2]

[E]"Silens acting as crowd controllers led the Dionysiac procession, some in purple cloaks and some in scarlet ones.[3] Satyrs marched right behind them, twenty in each part of the stadium, carrying torches made of gilded ivy. After them came Victories with golden wings, clad in tunics embroidered with animals and covered in gold jewelry, carrying incense burners six cubits [nine feet] high, adorned with gilded ivy sprays.[F] A double altar followed, six cubits [nine feet] high, ornamented all over with gilded ivy leaves in relief, and bearing a golden crown of vine leaves twined with striped white ribbons. One hundred and twenty boys in purple tunics followed, carrying frankincense, myrrh, and even saffron on golden dishes. After them marched forty more satyrs, crowned with golden ivy crowns. Their bodies were painted, some purple, some vermilion, and some with other colors. [198A] They also wore golden crowns of vine and ivy.

"After them marched two Silens in purple cloaks and white shoes. One of them wore a *petasos* and carried a golden *caduceus*, and the other had a trumpet. Between them walked a man of gigantic size, more than four cubits [six feet] high, in a tragic costume and mask, bearing the golden horn of Amaltheia [i.e., a cornucopia]. He was called 'The Year.' A woman of great beauty and just as tall followed him, adorned with quantities of gold and a superb dress,[B] carrying in one hand a garland of *persea* blossoms, and in her other a palm branch. She was called Penteteris [Quinquennium]. And the Four Seasons followed her, dressed accordingly, each of them carrying their characteristic fruits. Next came two incense-burners six cubits [nine feet] high, ornamented in gold with ivy, and a square golden altar between them. And then more satyrs, wearing golden ivy crowns and clad in purple. Some carried golden wine jugs, others gold goblets. After them marched the poet Philiskos, the priest of Dionysos,[C] and the entire guild of Dionysiac artists.[4] Next were borne Delphic tripods as prizes for the athletes' coaches, the one for the boys' coach nine cubits [thirteen-and-a-half feet] high, and the other twelve cubits [eighteen feet] high for the men's coach.

"After them came a four-wheeled float fourteen cubits long and eight wide [twenty-one × twelve feet], drawn by a hundred and eighty men. In it stood an image of Dionysos, ten cubits [fifteen feet] high, pouring libations of wine from a golden goblet, wearing a purple ankle-length tunic and over it a transparent saffron cloak; and around his shoulders was thrown a purple mantle spangled with gold.[D] Before him stood a golden Lakonian krater, holding fifteen jars worth of wine, and a golden tripod, upon which lay a golden incense burner, and two golden bowls full of cassia and saffron. A

2 Quinquennial: Because the ancient Greeks counted inclusively, unlike us, the festival actually was held every four years.

3 Silens: old satyrs; Silenos, bald and fat with thick lips and a snub nose, had been Dionysos's tutor.

4 Dionysic artists: actors.

canopy covered the scene, adorned with ivy, vine, and other cultivated fruits; and hanging from it were crowns, ribbons, *thyrsoi*, drums, fillets, and satyric, comic, and tragic masks.[E]

"Priests and priestesses followed this float, and also new initiates, sacred envoys from all over, and women carrying the mystic winnowing fan. And after them came Macedonian maenads, the so-called Mimallones, Bassarai, and Lydians, with hair flying and wearing wreaths of snakes, yew, vine, and ivy; some held daggers, others snakes. There followed another four-wheeled float, eight cubits [twelve feet] wide,[F] drawn by sixty men; it featured a seated statue of Nysa, eight cubits [twelve feet] high, clothed in a yellow tunic spangled with gold and a Lakonian cloak. It could stand up automatically, without human assistance; it poured libations of milk from a golden dish and then sat down again. It carried a *thyrsos* wrapped with fillets in its left hand, and was crowned with a golden wreath of ivy and gorgeous grape clusters of precious stones. It also had a canopy, and at the float's corners were fastened four gilded torches.

[199A] "Then followed another four-wheeler, twenty cubits long and sixteen wide [thirty by twenty-four feet], drawn by three hundred men. And on it was a wine press twenty-four cubits long and fifteen wide [thirty-six × twenty-two-and-a-half feet], full of grapes; and sixty satyrs trod them singing a vintaging song to the music of the pipes, supervised by Silenos. New wine poured out from it over the whole processional route. Next came a four-wheeled float, twenty-five cubits long and fourteen wide [thirty-seven-and-a-half × twenty-one feet], drawn by six hundred men. On it was a wineskin holding three thousand jars of wine, stitched together from leopards' pelts. This wine too trickled out gradually over the whole route.[B] There followed a hundred and twenty crowned satyrs and silens, some carrying wine jugs, some bowls, and some large Therikleian goblets, all made of gold."

More floats followed with displays of hundreds of silver, gold, and crystal wine jars, kraters, jugs, goblets, and other vessels, many decorated in relief and filled with wine. Sixteen hundred boys dispensed the wine to the crowd from golden jugs, while others showered it with sweetmeats. Next came more than one hundred chariots driven by boys and girls in Dionysiac costume and drawn by animals from the Alexandrian zoo, including elephants, antelopes, oryxes, ostriches, gnus, and zebras. Wagons attended by Indian and Ethiopian women followed, loaded with huge piles of frankincense, myrrh, saffron, cassia, cinnamon, and other spices, and African tribute bearers with elephant tusks, ebony logs, and so on. Behind them rode the zoo's caged birds and animals: parrots, peacocks, guinea fowls, pheasants, exotic sheep, a huge white bear, leopards, panthers, lynxes, bear cubs, a giraffe, and a rhinoceros.

"And after these beasts, a four-wheeled float bore an image of Dionysos taking refuge from Hera at the altar of Rhea, wearing a golden crown and accompanied by Priapos, crowned with a golden ivy wreath, and Hera with a golden crown.[D] Then came images of Alexander and Ptolemy, both crowned with golden ivy wreaths. And the statue of Aretē, which stood beside Ptolemy, had a golden olive wreath. And Priapos was with them, wearing a golden ivy wreath. The city of Corinth, standing beside Ptolemy, wore a golden diadem;

and by all these stood a large golden cup stand laden with gold vessels, and a gold krater of fifty gallons capacity.

"Women in sumptuous dresses and ornaments followed this float.[E] They bore the names of cities, some from Ionia and the rest from the Greek cities of the islands and Asia formerly under Persian rule; they all wore golden crowns. And other wagons carried a golden *thyrsos* ninety cubits [135 feet] long, and a silver spear sixty cubits [ninety feet] long; and a golden phallus, a hundred and twenty cubits [180 feet] long, painted all over, wreathed with golden garlands and tipped by a golden star, six cubits [nine feet] in circumference."

Other floats followed with statues of the kings and the gods, then a 600-man band and 2,000 sacrificial bulls with gilded horns and golden trappings. After them marched the processions of Zeus and the other gods and, finally, Alexander's. His golden statue, flanked by Nike and Athena, stood in a chariot drawn by elephants. Dozens of golden thrones, crowns, altars, incense burners, lamps, tripods, palm trees, thunderbolts, suits of armor, and vessels were carried along behind them, followed by 400 wagons of silver plate, 20 wagons of gold plate, and 800 wagons of perfumes and spices. Then came a vast army, more than 80,000 strong, with the royal family following it, all crowned with gold. The entire spectacle cost 2,239 talents and 50 minas.

PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR'S RIVER CATAMARAN (ATHENAIOS 5, 203D)

"Philopator also built a riverboat which he called 'Thalamegos' or Cabin Cruiser, half a stade long and thirty cubits wide [300 × 45 feet];[E] including the pavilion (when raised) it was almost forty cubits [sixty feet] high. And its appearance was not quite like either a warship or a merchantman, but different from both, because of the shallowness of the river. For it was flat bottomed and broad below the waterline, but rose high in the air above it. And its bow and stern, especially the former, were given long overhangs with a backward curve that was most elegant. It had a double bow and a double stern that rose quite high above the water, since the river is often quite choppy.[5F]

"Amidships were built saloons for feasting and cabins for sleeping, and all the other conveniences of life. And around the ship on three sides were double promenades, each at least five *plethra* [500 feet] in length. [205A] The lower one was built like a colonnade and the upper one was enclosed, surrounded on all sides by walls and windows. When you first came aboard at the stern you encountered a porch, recessed and open in front and flanked by columns. The next part of it resembled a gatehouse and was made of ivory and the most expensive woods. Entering this gatehouse, one came upon a sort of roofed proscenium and then, amidships, upon another portal with four folding doors.[B] And to port and starboard there were windows for ventilation.

5 I.e., it was a catamaran with a high cabin at center.

"These portals gave onto the largest saloon, colonnaded all around and large enough to accommodate twenty couches. It was made mostly of split cedar and Milesian cypress. On each side its doors [opening onto the lower promenade], twenty in number, were paneled in fragrant cedar nicely glued and ornamented with ivory; all their decorative studs and handles were made of red, fire-gilded copper.[C] Its column shafts were of cypress wood, and their Corinthian capitals were embellished with ivory and gold. The entablature above them was wholly of gold, and bore a frieze of ivory animals, half a cubit [one-and-a-half feet] high, whose workmanship was eclipsed by the beauty of the materials. This dining saloon had a beautiful coffered roof, made of cypress wood; its ornaments were all carved and gilded. Next to it was a cabin with seven berths;[D] and adjoining this was a narrow transverse passage that ran right across the boat, isolating the women's quarters from the men's. These women's quarters contained a dining saloon with nine couches, similar to the large one in its magnificence, and a cabin with five berths. This, then, was how the lower deck was arranged.

"But when you went up the stairs [to the upper deck] that were close to the aforementioned sleeping cabin, there was another one large enough for five couches; its ceiling was ornamented with lozenges. Near it was a temple of Aphrodite, like a rotunda, in which stood a marble statue of the goddess.[6E] And opposite this temple was another banqueting saloon, very sumptuous and colonnaded all around: the columns were all of Indian marble. And next to this saloon were more cabins, organized like the ones mentioned earlier.

"And as you went on toward the stern,[7] there was another saloon dedicated to Dionysos, large enough for thirteen couches and surrounded by columns, with cornices gilded as far down as the architraves; its ceiling fitted the character of the god.[F] And on its right side was a large stone-colored recess, for it was indeed made of real stone and gold; and in it were portraits of the royal family, made of Parian marble. And there was another banqueting saloon, very pleasant, built above the roof of the largest one [on the lower deck, already described], having a tent-like arrangement, [206A] so that some of it had no actual roof but curved curtain rods at intervals, along which purple awnings could be run out whenever the vessel was under way.

"After this there was an open chamber directly above the vestibule on the deck below. And a winding stair adjoined it, leading [down] to the open promenade;[8] and a banqueting room large enough for nine couches, constructed and furnished in the Egyptian style. For the columns bulged as they ascended and had drums colored alternately black and white,[B] all set in parallel lines. And their capitals were round, like roses when they open up a little. And around this so-called basket there were no volutes and coarse [acanthus]

6 I.e., resembling the tholos at Knidos and Praxiteles' Aphrodite (Figure 104).

7 Stern: The Greek text reads "bow," an obvious mistake; for the writer first negotiated the lower deck from stern to bow, then ascended the stairs, and now is walking back toward the stern again.

8 Open: The Greek text reads "covered," evidently another mistake, for this deck is the one with the covered promenade.

leaves as is the case with Greek capitals, but calyxes of water lilies and the fruit of newly budding date palms. And sometimes other kinds of flowers also were carved on them. And between the capitals and the uppermost column drums, there were necking rings like the intertwined flowers and leaves of the Egyptian bean.[C]

This then is the way in which the Egyptians construct their columns and variegate their walls with alternate courses of black and white stones; and sometimes also they employ the stone called alabaster. And there were many other cabins in the ship, throughout every part of it.

"This vessel's mast was seventy cubits [105 feet] high, with a sail of fine linen, adorned with a purple fringe."

GLOSSARY

Note: Greek and Latin words are italicized.

Aegis (Latin; Greek *aigis*) scaly vestment fringed with snakes and usually bearing a Gorgoneion at its center, worn by Athena and Zeus
Agalma an image of a god; marble cult image
Agathē Tychē Good Fortune
Agora a meeting place, assembly place, marketplace, city center
Akrolith (Greek *akrolithos*) a wooden statue with all exposed flesh surfaces of marble
Akropolis "high city"; a high place, citadel
Akrotērion (pl. *akrotēria*) floral or figural embellishment crowning the corners and apex of a roof
Allegory (Greek *allēgoria*) literally "saying something else"; a figurative treatment of one subject under the guise of another
Amazonomachy (Greek *Amazonomachia*) battle between Greeks and Amazons
Amphora (pl. *amphorai*) a two-handled jar for wine or oil
Anastolē a cowlick; hair brushed upward and to the sides from a central part
Anatolia a geographical area roughly equivalent to present-day Turkey; also called Asia Minor
Andrōn "men's room"; a dining or symposion room in a Greek house; see also *oikos*
Archaic old; generic, modern term for Greek art and literature from ca. 700 to 480, before the classical period
Archaistic imitating the archaic
Archē power over; authority

Aretē (pl. *aretai*) bravery, courage, prowess, personal excellence; later, moral virtue

Asklepieion sanctuary of the healing god Asklepios

Attic Athenian

Attribute an identifying accessory worn or carried by a figure in Greek art

Baroque modern term, borrowed from eighteenth-century criticism, for a Hellenistic rhetorical style of movement, flamboyance, and drama

Basilica (Latin; Greek *basilikē stoa*) literally a "royal stoa"; a hall, often divided by interior colonnades into a nave and two side aisles

Benefaction gift giving; in this period especially from powerful and/or wealthy individuals to Greek cities

Caduceus (Latin) a herald's staff, topped by a figure-8

Cameo an image in relief produced by cutting back a multicolored, naturally laminated stone until a darker or lighter layer is revealed

Cella (Latin) the cult room of a temple

Centauromachy (Greek *Kentauromachia*) battle between Greeks and Centaurs

Chiaroscuro (Italian) light and shade, color gradation, color perspective

Chitōn a linen shift or tunic, usually girdled at the waist and either knee-length (for men) or ankle-length (for women)

Chōra countryside, used especially to describe Egypt outside the city of Alexandria and/or south of the Nile Delta

Classic "of a certain class" or "in a class of its own"; something that sets a standard

Classicism or **neoclassicism** a style that seeks to perpetuate, revive, and/or modernize the achievements of leading classical (fifth- and fourth-century) Greek artists

Cornucopia (Latin) a horn of plenty

Dekadrachm (Greek *dekadrachmon*) a ten-drachma coin, weighing 1.5 ounces (43 grams) on the Attic standard

Dēmos the people, citizen body

Diadem (Greek *diadēma*) a woolen fillet, usually white, bound around the hair and knotted at the back; the symbol of Hellenistic royalty

Dikeras a double cornucopia, invented by Queen Arsinoe II of Egypt (reigned 275–269) as the Ptolemaic royal badge and found on the regime's coins and other products

Dipteral a temple ringed by a double colonnade

Drachma (Greek *drachmē/a*, pl. *drachmai*, abbreviated to dr.) a monetary unit weighing 0.15 ounces (4.3 grams) on the Attic standard, and a median day's wage for a craftsman

Dynamis "power to"; agency

Ekphrasis vividly pictorial literary description in verse or prose

Emblēma (pl. *emblēmata*) the central figured panel of a mosaic, sometimes manufactured separately and inserted ready-made

Enargeia vivid writing

Entablature the architrave, frieze, and cornice of a building

Erōs love
Ēthos character, disposition
Filigree thin gold wire, often shaped into decorative patterns and soldered onto a (usually gold) background
Genre a class of objects or texts
Gigantomachy (Greek *Gigantomachia*) battle between gods and Giants
Gorgoneion the decapitated head of the Gorgon Medusa
Granulation tiny gold spheres, often arranged into decorative patterns and soldered onto a (usually gold) background
Gymnasium (Greek *gymnasion*) "naked place"; a gymnasium; by the Hellenistic period, a kind of high school
Gynaikeion the women's quarters in a Greek house
Hamartia a mistake
Hellenistic late Greek; standard term for Greek history, literature, and art from the death of Alexander the Great in 323 to the Roman occupation of the last major Hellenistic kingdom, Ptolemaic Egypt, in 30
Herm (Greek *hermēs*) a stone pillar, equipped with a phallus and two stumpy rectangular "arms," surmounted originally with a head of Hermes, and in the Hellenistic period, by a head of a god, hero, or even a living mortal
Hetaira a courtesan
Himation a woolen cloak
Intaglio a design cut into a stone, and thus in the negative; the opposite of a cameo
Ithyphallic (Greek *ithyphallikos*) sporting an erection
Katharsis emotional release, especially from a tragedy
Kausia a Macedonian hat
Kithara a stringed instrument, bigger and heavier than the lyre, and usually played by professionals
Kitharode (Greek *kitharōidos*) a professional kithara player
Klinē (pl. *klinai*) a couch
Krater (Greek *kratēr*) a large, two-handled container for mixing wine; punch bowl
Kudos charisma, talismanic power, "mana"
Larnax (pl. *larnakes*) a chest
Lebēs gamikos a ritual vessel for water used in nuptial purification ceremonies
Leonine lion-like
Loutrophoros a ritual vessel for water used in purification ceremonies
Lyre (Greek *lyra*) a stringed instrument, lighter than the kithara, often played by amateurs
Maenad (Greek *mainas*) a madwoman; female devotee of Dionysos
Mina a monetary unit; in coin or bullion, 100 drachmas (almost 1 pound, or 430 grams) of silver or gold
Nekropolis "city of the dead"; a cemetery
Nemesis (Greek *nemēsis*) righteous anger, retribution
Nikē (pl. *Nikai*) victory, or a personification of one

Oikos (Greek; Latin *oecus*) a house; in Latin usage, a men's living or dining room; see also *andrōn*

Oinochoē a wine jug

Opus vermiculatum (Latin) "wormy work," a mosaic technique that imitates the calligraphic brushstrokes of painting

Order one of the five Greek and Roman architectural styles: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite

Orthogonal receding line, usually at a right angle to the picture plane and parallel to the ground, which in perspective seems to rise or fall toward the horizon or vanishing point

Panhellenic (Greek *panhellēnikos*) "all-Greek"; anything known, believed, or practiced throughout the Greek world; a place or event frequented by all Greeks

Pankration a combination of boxing and wrestling; one of the most popular of Greek combat sports

Parthenos (pl. *parthenoi*) maiden, virgin, unmarried girl; epithet of Athena

Pastas a colonnaded interior porch, portico, or vestibule of a Greek house; sometimes called a *prostas*

Pathos (pl. *pathē*) feeling, emotion

Pediment a gable, sometimes carved when found on temples

Peplos a long woolen gown, usually girdled

Peripeteia reversal (of fortune)

Personification a representation of an abstract concept, such as victory, prosperity, fortune, retribution, or a virtue or vice

Petasos a broad-brimmed sun-hat worn by travelers and hunters

Phalanx a dense battle formation of heavy infantry

Phantasia (pl. *phantasiai*) mental impression, image, or visualization

Phialē (pl. *phialai*) a shallow dish used for pouring libations to a god or hero

Picture plane the surface on which a picture is painted; the front plane of its foreground

Polis (pl. *poleis*) city, city-state

Ponos toil

Porticus (Latin) a colonnaded urban park

Propylon (pl. *propylaia*) a gatehouse

Prostas a colonnaded interior porch, portico, or vestibule of a Greek house; sometimes called a *pastas*

Pseudodipteral a temple type that omits the inner ring of columns of a double-colonnaded, or dipteral, temple, creating a wide ambulatory between its outer colonnade and *cella*

Putto (Italian) a little, winged Erōs

Pyxis a box, often exotically shaped and used for jewels or cosmetics

Rhetoric, rhetorical (Greek *rhetorikē*) persuasive speech or writing; the study of writing or speaking effectively

Rhyton (pl. *rhyta*) a drinking horn

Rusticated a masonry style that imitates the rough, unfinished blocks of country building

Sarissa (pl. *sarissai*) a Macedonian pike used by cavalry and by infantry in a phalanx

Satrapy a province of the Persian Empire and, later, Alexander's empire, each ruled by a satrap

Satyr (Greek *satyros*) an attendant of Dionysos, usually goatish and ithyphallic

Severe style the first phase or generation of the classical, ca. 480–450

Sfumato (Italian) literally "smokiness"; the slurring of muscular and other transitions in a sculpture to create a vague, or impressionistic, effect

Shekel a Near Eastern monetary unit weighing approximately 0.30 ounces (8.4 grams) and worth roughly two drachmas

Sōtēr savior

Stade (Greek *stadion*) approximately 600 feet; of variable length according to the measurement system in use at that locality

Stater (Greek *statēr*) a two-drachma coin

Stephanē (pl. *stephanai*) a wreath, crown, or coronet

Stoa a colonnaded portico, often fronting a row of shops

Strigil (Greek *strigilis*) a body scraper, usually of bronze

Stylobate (Greek *stylobatēs*) the platform of a temple, upon which stood its colonnade and *cella*

Symplēgma (pl. *symplēgmata*) "entanglement"; an intertwined sculptural group, usually athletic or erotic in character

Symposiast (Greek *symposiastēs*) a participant in or guest at a symposion

Symposion (pl. *symposia*) a drinking party

Talent (Greek *talanton*) a heavy weight; a monetary unit; in coin or bullion, worth 6,000 drachmas (57.02 pounds, or 25.86 kilograms) of silver or gold

Technē (pl. *technai*) skill, know-how, technique, facture, technology, craft, art, occupation, profession

Tessera (Latin, pl. *tesserae*) a mosaic cube, usually of cut stone or glass

Tetradrachm (Greek *tetradrachmon*) a four-drachma coin, weighing 0.60 ounces (17.2 grams) on the Attic standard; a typical day's wage for a mercenary

Tholos a round temple or shrine; rotunda

Thyrsos (pl. *thyrsoi*) a wooden staff topped by a pinecone; a particular attribute of Dionysos

Tiara a turban-like, Persian headcloth, sometimes also wrapped around the chin and mouth to keep out dust

Triclinium (Latin) a Roman room furnished with three couches for intimate dining

Tryphē opulence, luxury; a particular hallmark and boast of the Ptolemaic kingdom

Tychē fortune, chance, luck

Tyranny (Greek *tyrannis*) unconstitutional rule, one-man rule, dictatorship

Uraeus (Greek *ouraios*) the stylized, upright form of an Egyptian cobra used as a symbol of royalty, sovereignty, divinity, and divine authority in ancient

Egypt; the triple uraeus was invented probably by or for Queen Kleopatra VII (reigned 51–30)

Verism, verist (derived from Latin *verus*, "true" or "truthful") modern term for an apparently hyperrealistic style of Roman republican portraiture

Votive (Latin *ex-voto*, "from a vow") anything dedicated to a divinity or hero

TIMELINE

THE FOURTH CENTURY

359	Philip II becomes King of Macedon
357	Philip II initiates Macedonian expansion; wars with Athens begin
356	Alexander the Great is born
338	Philip II defeats Athens and Thebes at Chaironeia in Boiotia and establishes Macedonian hegemony over most of Greece
336	Philip II is assassinated; Alexander succeeds him
334–324	Alexander conquers the Persian Empire (Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and Baktria) and invades India
334–264	Romans gradually gain control of all of Italy south of the Po River
331	Alexander founds Alexandria-by-Egypt
323	Alexander dies in Babylon
323–281	Alexander's generals ("the successors") fight for political and military supremacy and sole control of his empire
310	Alexander's son, Alexander IV, is murdered; the Argead dynasty ends
306–302	Antigonos One-Eye, his son Demetrios, Seleukos, Kassandros, Lysimachos, and Ptolemy in turn put on the diadem and declare themselves kings
301	Lysimachos and Seleukos defeat and kill Antigonos One-Eye at Ipsos; Demetrios escapes and takes to the sea
300	Seleukos founds Antioch-on-the-Orontes as the capital of the Seleukid Empire

THE THIRD CENTURY

294	Demetrios enters Athens and is proclaimed King of Macedon; Wars of the Successors continue
288–283	Demetrios is deposed (288), invades Asia (287), is captured by Seleukos (285), and dies in captivity (283)
281	Seleukos defeats and kills Lysimachos at Korypedion in Anatolia, invades Europe, and is assassinated; his son Antiochos I succeeds him; Wars of the Successors end
281–275	The Celts invade Macedon, Greece, and Anatolia; repulsed outside Delphi, they are defeated by a Greek alliance (279), by Demetrios's son Antigonos Gonatas (277), and in Anatolia by Antiochos I (275)
275	The Antigonids (Macedon), Ptolemies (Egypt), and Seleukids (Syria) now dominate the Hellenistic world, and for the next century they fight for regional control
264–201	First and Second Punic Wars: Rome fights Carthage for control of the western Mediterranean and wins
255–239	Diodotos I of Baktria exploits Seleukid weakness in the East and founds the Baktrian kingdom; Parthians invade eastern Iran, severing Baktria's ties with the Hellenistic world
237–223	Attalos I of Pergamon defeats the Celts, assumes the diadem, and proclaims himself king (237); he fights successfully for survival against the Macedonians, Celts, and Seleukids
215	Philip V of Macedon allies with Carthage; Roman involvement in Greece and clashes with Macedon begin
209–206	Antiochos III of Syria invades Parthia and Baktria but fails to take the capital, Baktria; he reestablishes Seleukid control up to the Indus
201–200	Philip V ravages Pergamene and Athenian territory but fails to take either city; Rome, Pergamon, and the Greeks ally against him

THE SECOND CENTURY

197	Roman consul Flamininus defeats Philip V at Kynoskephalai, expels the Macedonians from Greece, and proclaims the Freedom of the Greeks (196)
192–188	Antiochos III invades Greece, declares war on Rome and allies with the Celts; The Romans defeat him (190) and the Celts (189), expel the Seleukids from Anatolia (188), and give Pergamon and Rhodes control of western Anatolia
180–175	Demetrios I of Baktria expands into northern India and establishes an Indo-Greek kingdom there

172–166	Eukratides I (the Great) of Baktria conquers most of northern India; Mithradates I of Parthia invades Babylonia; Perseus of Macedon challenges Rome, is defeated at Pydna and captured (168); Romans partition Macedon, give Athens a mini-empire, including Delos (166); Eumenes II of Pergamon suppresses a great Celtic revolt unaided (166)
168–164	Antiochos IV of Syria fails to take Alexandria, provokes a Jewish (Maccabean) revolt (167), and dies trying to expel the Parthians from Babylonia (164); the Seleukid decline accelerates
160–140	Steppe nomads overrun Baktria and invade Parthia; isolated Indo-Greek kingdoms survive for another century
148–146	Romans suppress Macedonian revolt, declare Macedon a province, defeat Achaian League, sack Corinth (146), take and destroy Carthage (146), and consolidate control of Mediterranean
133	Attalos III of Pergamon wills his kingdom to Rome and dies childless
120	Mithradates VI becomes king of Pontus and soon expands around the Black Sea coast, into the Crimea and central Anatolia

THE FIRST CENTURY

89–82	Drawn into conflict with Rome, Mithradates invades western Anatolia, sacks Delos (88), and is welcomed into Greece; the Roman consul Sulla defeats him, sacks Athens (86), and confines him to Pontus (85); Sulla invades Italy and becomes dictator of Rome (82–81)
73–63	Mithradates again challenges Rome; eventually defeated by L. Lucullus and Cn. Pompeius (Pompey the Great), he flees to the Crimea, where he commits suicide
69–67	Pirates sack Delos; Pompey sweeps them from the seas
64	Pompey abolishes the Seleukid Empire, takes Jerusalem (63), and turns Pontos, Bithynia, Cilicia, and Syria into Roman provinces
59	Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar dominate Roman politics; Caesar leaves to conquer Gaul
51	Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII become joint rulers of Egypt, but soon quarrel, and alternately exile each other
49–44	Roman civil wars begin; Caesar returns from Gaul, crosses the Rubicon, becomes dictator, defeats Pompey at Pharsalos in central Greece (48), and pursues him to Egypt, where Ptolemy XIII assassinates Pompey; Caesar, enraged, gives Kleopatra the throne; she bears him Ptolemy Caesarion (47) and visits Rome (46–44)

44–40	Caesar is murdered (44); M. Antonius (Mark Antony) and Octavian, Caesar's nephew, defeat his assassins in Greece (42), who then commit suicide; Antony falls for Kleopatra (41), partitions the empire with Octavian (40), and marries his sister, Octavia; Kleopatra bears twins, Alexander Helios and Kleopatra Selene
34–33	"Donations of Alexandria": Antony proclaims Kleopatra and the twins rulers of the East; relations with Octavian deteriorate
32–30	Antony divorces Octavia; Octavian declares war on Kleopatra, defeats her and Antony at Actium (31), invades Egypt, and takes Alexandria (30); Antony and Kleopatra commit suicide

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

NOTE: All dates are BC unless otherwise stated. Names in **bold** indicate persons given full sketches elsewhere in the list.

Alexander III "the Great" Macedonian king, b. 356; r. 336–323. Figures 3, 4, 22, 24, 37. Son of King **Philip II** of Macedon and educated by **Aristotle**, he fought at Chaironeia (338) and gained the throne upon his father's murder in 336. In 334 he invaded the Persian Empire, defeating the Western satraps on the Granikos River (334) and King Darius on the Issos River (333); after taking Egypt (332), he founded Alexandria (331) and visited Ammon's oracle at Siwah. After defeating Darius again at Gaugamela (331), **Alexander** pursued him to the Caspian Sea, where a courtier murdered him. In 329–327 **Alexander** conquered Baktria (Afghanistan) and in 326 invaded India, defeating King Porus on the Hydaspes (Indus) River. His army then mutinied and he returned to Babylon via the Indus and the Gedrosian Desert (325). Still planning further conquests, he died in 323, leaving his empire "to the strongest."

Antiochos III Megas ("The Great") Seleukid king, b. ca. 252; r. 223–187. Inheriting an empire in a state of schism and decay, he soon set about restoring Seleukid power on every frontier. He drove the Ptolemies out of Lebanon and Palestine, although his invasion of Egypt stalled at Raphia (217); reestablished Seleukid control of the East but failed to retake Baktria (206); and recovered southern and western Anatolia (Pergamon excepted) and Thrace. The latter eventually brought him into conflict with Rome. He invaded Greece, only to be defeated at Thermopylai (192) and Magnesia (190). The resulting Peace of Apameia (188) saddled him with a huge indemnity and banished the Seleukids from Anatolia in perpetuity.

Antonius, Marcus (Mark Antony) Roman politician and general, 83–30. Trained under **Caesar** in Gaul, he became tribune and **Caesar's** spokesman in Rome in 49 and fought for him in the subsequent civil war. In 44, as consul along with **Caesar**, he offered him the royal diadem on February 15 and became his chief avenger after his assassination one month later. Triumvir in 43 with Lepidus and **Octavian**, **Caesar's** nephew and heir and increasingly **Antony's** rival, he defeated the assassins at Philippi in 42. In 41 he met **Kleopatra** (Figure 2) at Tarsos, and in 40 she bore him twins, Alexander Helios and Kleopatra Selene. The next few years saw the de facto division of the empire with **Octavian** and the consolidation of **Kleopatra**'s power over the East, formalized at the "Donations of Alexandria" in 34. **Octavian** persuaded the Senate to declare war; defeated the pair at Actium (31); and invaded Egypt (30). Deserted by his troops, **Antony** committed suicide as Octavian entered Alexandria.

Apelles Influential painter from Kolophon in Ionia, active ca. 350–290. **Apelles** worked for **Philip II** of Macedon and then for **Alexander the Great**, whose favorite painter he became; his works included an **Alexander** Thunderbolt-Bearer at Ephesos (compare Figure 24), an **Alexander** in Battle, and **Alexander** with the Dioskouroi, Nike, Triumph, War, and Fury at Alexandria. Probably he painted the last of these for **Ptolemy I Soter** of Egypt (r. 306–223), at whose court he also painted his famous Calumny. His Aphrodite Anadyomene, rising from the sea and wringing out her hair (compare Figure 107), became as famous as **Praxiteles**' Knidian Aphrodite (Figure 104), partly because, according to one tradition, the great *hetaira* **Phryne** inspired it.

Aristotle Philosopher from Stageira in Thrace, 384–322. He entered Plato's Academy in 367, remaining until the latter's death in 347; he then settled in Assos and on Lesbos, researching biology, until he was invited by **Philip II** of Macedon to tutor **Alexander** (343). In 335 he returned to Athens and founded the Lyceum, but anti-Macedonian feeling forced him out in 323; he died in Chalkis one year later. Of his voluminous writings, only texts assembled by his pupils from lecture notes and research projects survive, including the *Metaphysics*, *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Physiognomics*, *History of Animals*, *Rhetoric*, *Poetics*, *Politics*, and *Constitution of Athens*.

Arsinoe II Philadelphos ("Brother-loving") Ptolemaic queen, b. 316; r. 275–269. Figures 31, 102. Daughter of **Ptolemy I**, she first married Lysimachos and then Ptolemy Keraunos, **Seleukos's** assassin, who also murdered her younger sons. Fleeing to Egypt, she married her brother **Ptolemy II** (Figure 31) around 275, taking the gender-neutral title Philadelphos; they were soon venerated as "Sibling Gods." A powerful queen and role model, at her death she was deified in her own right.

Attalos I Soter ("Savior") Pergamene king, b. 269; r. 241–197. Figures 33–34. Succeeding his cousin Eumenes I, he decisively defeated the Celts at the sources of the Kaikos River in 237, taking the titles of King and Soter. For the rest of his reign, he fought, with mixed success, to maintain his position

against the Macedonians, Bithynians, Seleukids, and their Celtic allies. For this he eventually obtained an alliance with Rome that proved decisive in the Second Macedonian War (200–197) against **Philip V**. He died of a stroke just before **Philip's** defeat by **Flamininus** (Figure 143) at Kynoskephalai (197).

Augustus see **Octavian**

Caesar, C. Julius Roman general, politician, and dictator, 100–44. Educated and trained militarily in Anatolia, he adroitly navigated the treacherous waters of Roman politics during and after **Sulla's** dictatorship (81–79), establishing himself as an opportunistic and successful soldier, advocate, politician, and showman (his liberality was legendary). Returning enriched from Spain to a triumph in 60, he allied with **Pompey** and Crassus in the so-called First Triumvirate, obtaining the consulship, and thereafter Gaul as his province. Its conquest (59–50) made him even richer but united his enemies against him, forcing him to march on Rome in 49. As dictator, he fought the civil war successfully for three years, defeating **Pompey** at Pharsalos (48) and bedding **Kleopatra** (Figures 2, 88, 103), who bore him a son, Ptolemy Caesarion (Figure 88), in 47. Returning to Rome and a quadruple triumph, he refused the kingship but not divine honors. He was assassinated just before leaving to invade Parthia (44).

Cleopatra see **Kleopatra**

Damophon Sculptor from Messene, active ca. 230–180. Repaired **Pheidias's** gold and ivory Zeus at Olympia and made marble cult statues and votives for the cities of the Achaean confederacy, including Messene, Lykosoura, and others. The Lykosoura group (Figures 94–95) shows that he was an eclectic neoclassicist who attempted to update the style of **Pheidias** while paying close attention to the psychological effects of his statues and the needs of devotees. **Pausanias** thought his work important enough to describe at length; other connoisseurs ignored it. His numerous honors included burial in a custom-built hero-shrine.

Demetrios Poliorketes "the Besieger" Macedonian general and king, b. 336; r. 306–283. Figures 28–29. Son of **Alexander's** general Antigonos One-Eye, he served the latter as general and admiral in the Wars of the Successors, gaining his greatest success at Salamis in Cyprus (306) over **Ptolemy I**, after which Antigonos declared the two of them kings. His nickname was ironic, bestowed after his failure to take Rhodes in an epic yearlong siege (305–304). Forced to take to the sea after Antigonos's defeat and death at Ipsos (301), during the next few years he made a remarkable comeback, culminating in his installation as King of Macedon (294). Yet his schemes to reconquer Antigonos's empire united his rivals against him; deposed in 288, he nevertheless invaded Anatolia in 287, was captured by **Seleukos** (Figure 27) in 285, and died in captivity.

Demosthenes Athenian orator and politician, 384–322. Figure 85. Entering politics in 355, he soon recognized the Macedonian threat and devoted himself to countering it. Unable to check **Philip II**, he fought at Chaironeia (338)

and narrowly escaped being handed over to **Alexander** in 335. Prosecuted in 323 for taking bribes from **Alexander**'s renegade treasurer Harpalos, he went into exile but was recalled after **Alexander**'s death to help lead the ensuing revolt. When it failed, he fled again, and committed suicide as Macedonian agents closed in on him. His surviving works include the *Philippics*, the *Olynthiacs*, the *Funeral Oration*, *On the Crown*, numerous other speeches (both political and legal), and some letters.

Epikouros (often latinized to Epicurus) Athenian philosopher from Samos, 341–270. Figures 78, 80, 82. Educated by philosophers, he began to teach in his thirties, and in 307 bought a house and garden in Athens as headquarters for his school. Opening his doors also to women and slaves, and adopting the atomistic theories of Demokritos, he presided over a community dedicated to responsible hedonism and liberation from fear of death and the divine. He authored more than 300 books, of which only fragments and three letters have survived.

Eumenes II King of Pergamon, r. 197–159. The eldest son and heir of **Attalos I**, he continued his father's successful policy of alliance with Rome, first against **Philip V** of Macedon (197), and then against **Antiochos III** of Syria (191–188). Rewarded with extensive territories in western Anatolia, he steered Pergamon to the apex of its power and initiated a grand building program to make the city a worthy imperial capital. In 172 he visited Rome to denounce Perseus of Macedon (Figure 30) for allegedly plotting aggression. He then joined the Romans against Perseus (171–168), but it was soon rumored that he was negotiating secretly with the enemy. The allegation was enough to incur Rome's permanent displeasure, depriving him of its support in the great Celtic revolt of 166, which he suppressed unaided. The Great Altar (Figures 14, 57–62) was perhaps his thank-offering for this victory.

Flamininus, T. Quinctius Roman politician and general, 229–174. Figure 143. After an undistinguished military and political apprenticeship, he became consul in 198 and was sent to prosecute the war against **Philip V** of Macedon. After some adroit diplomatic maneuvering, he defeated **Philip** at Kynoskephalai in 197 and expelled him from Greece. In 196 he declared the Freedom of the Greeks, to universal acclaim. Returning to Rome in 194, he celebrated a lavish triumph, collected numerous honors, and spent the rest of his career on diplomatic missions to the East.

Hermogenes Influential architect from Alabanda in Karia, active ca. 200. A partisan of the Ionic order and author of a manifesto later used by **Vitruvius**, he favored the pseudodipteral plan, substituting an ambulatory for the usual inner colonnade of dipteral temples. He also proposed a graded series of proportional schemes for temple façades, based on the column's lower diameter. His favorite one, tendentiously labeled the *eustyle*, or "good style," prescribed a basic intercolumniation of 2.25 lower diameters, a central one on the façades of 3 lower diameters, and a column height of 9.25 lower diameters. Equally novel was his use of Attic column bases and sculptured Ionic friezes. Responsible for the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia

(Figure 91), he converted a temple of Dionysos at Teos from Doric to Ionic and perhaps also engineered a similar switch in the Asklepieion at Pergamon after **Philip V** sacked it in 201.

Hippodamos Influential town planner and theorist from Miletos, active ca. 480–440. Hired to replan Piraeus probably in the 470s, Hippodamos perhaps was also responsible for planning Miletos (destroyed in 494) and Thurioi in Italy (443); a tradition that he also planned Rhodes (408) is not credible on chronological grounds. **Aristotle** summarizes and critiques his book on the ideal city, now lost, in his *Politics*. Following his work, all grid-planned cities are often (erroneously) called Hippodamian.

Kleopatra VII Philopator Thea ("Father-loving Goddess") (often Latinized to Cleopatra). Last Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt, b. 69; r. 51–30. Figures 2, 88, 103. Inheriting from her father, Ptolemy XII Auletes, a kingdom on the brink of collapse, she ruled at first alone, and then briefly with her younger brothers, Ptolemy XIII and Ptolemy XIV, both of whom she soon deposed. Courting first **Caesar** (48–44) and then **M. Antonius** (Mark Antony, 41–30) in order to secure the revival of Ptolemaic power in the East, she bore them three children: Ptolemy Caesarion (Figure 88) and the twins, Alexander Helios and Kleopatra Selene. Her liaison with **Antonius** climaxed in 34 with the "Donations of Alexandria," which confirmed her and the twins as rulers of the East, backed by his legions. Defeated by **Octavian** at Actium in 31, she committed suicide after he entered Alexandria in 30 and last-minute negotiations for her freedom collapsed.

Lysippos Influential sculptor from Sikyon in the Peloponnese, ca. 390–310. A virtuoso bronze worker famed for his skill and versatility, **Lysippos** specialized in athletes, portraits (see Figures 3, 22), heroes (see Figure 63), and divinities, eventually becoming **Alexander**'s favorite sculptor. Apparently he wrote no treatise, but his three sons and numerous pupils continued his work (Figures 68, 96), dominating Peloponnesian and Macedonian sculpture for two generations and securing important commissions at the courts of **Alexander**'s successors.

Mithradates VI Eupator Neos Dionysos ("Goodfather, New Dionysos") King of Pontos, b. 134; r. 120–63. Figure 36B. Of mixed Persian and Macedonian ancestry, he gained the throne on the assassination of his father Mithradates V, becoming sole ruler in 113. Within two decades he controlled most of the Black Sea coast (especially the Crimea and its environs) and large portions of Anatolia. Drawn inexorably into conflict with Rome, and posing as the champion of Hellenism, in 89 he invaded western Anatolia to popular acclaim, massacring 80,000 of the hated Italian tax collectors and their dependents (88), sacking Delos (Figure 53), and invading Greece. A Roman counteroffensive under **Sulla** drove him out, eventually confining him to his kingdom and subject territories (81). In 73, however, the last king of neighboring Bithynia died, willing it to Rome and goading him again to war. Confronted first by Lucullus and then by **Pompey**, he eventually fled to the Crimea, where he committed suicide.

Octavius, C. (Octavian; Augustus) Roman politician and first emperor, 63 BC–AD 14. **Caesar's** nephew, he entered the Senate at a young age and in 45 became his heir. Acting decisively after **Caesar's** murder (44), he became the leader of the Caesarian faction (the dictator's veterans crucially included), in uneasy alliance with **M. Antonius** (Mark Antony). After the defeat and suicides of **Caesar's** murderers (42), he gradually established himself as de facto ruler of Italy and the West, while **Antonius** assumed power in the East. In 31 he defeated **Antonius** and **Kleopatra** at Actium and a year later took Alexandria, extinguishing the Ptolemaic Empire. From then until his death, he built the institutional and ideological framework that was to guide the Roman Empire for the next three centuries.

Pasiteles Greek sculptor from southern Italy and a contemporary of **Pompey** (106–48) given Roman citizenship. A scholar-artist in a long classical and Hellenistic tradition, he excelled as an all-round technician catering to Roman tastes and authored five volumes on *Famous Artworks of the World*. Although all his work is lost, extant neoclassical sculptures by two generations of pupils (Figure 169) testify to its success.

Pausanias Greek travel writer probably from western Anatolia, ca. AD 130–200. He wrote a ten-book *Description of Greece*. Although it actually covers only the southern Greek mainland, it is a goldmine of facts, observations, and opinions about everything he saw and heard, from sites and monuments to rituals, customs, legends, myths, and historical events. Heavily biased toward the classical period, it nevertheless conveys much information about the Hellenistic period, especially if the works in question are classicizing.

Perikles Athenian politician, orator, and general, ca. 495–429. Figure 23. Too young to fight in the Persian Wars, Perikles first achieved prominence by sponsoring Aischylos's tragedy *The Persians* in 472. After helping to introduce democratic reforms in 462, he dominated Athenian politics until 430, when early reverses in the Peloponnesian War briefly forced him from power. He died of the plague in 429. His building program, which included the Parthenon and its gold and ivory colossus of Athena (see Figure 167), made by **Pheidias**, made Athens the envy of Greece.

Pheidias Influential Athenian sculptor, ca. 495–425. Best known for his gold and ivory colossi of Athena Parthenos (see Figure 167) and Olympian Zeus, he was recognized throughout antiquity as Greece's greatest sculptor and foremost exponent of the divine. According to **Plutarch**, he also oversaw **Perikles**' building program, the Parthenon sculptures presumably included. Exiled for embezzlement in 438, he spent his last years in Olympia, making the Zeus.

Philip II King of Macedon, b. 382; r. 359–336. Gaining the throne after northern barbarians had killed his predecessor and many of his troops, he reformed the Macedonian army, strengthened his kingdom, and soon began to expand to the east, west, and south. Despite the efforts of **Demosthenes** to stop him, by 346 he dominated northern Greece, and in 338 decisively defeated Athens and Thebes at Chaironeia in Boiotia, becoming de facto

master of mainland Greece. In 337 a conference at Corinth appointed him to lead a crusade of revenge against Persia, but the expedition had barely begun when a disaffected aristocrat assassinated him.

Philip V King of Macedon, b. 238; r. 221–179. Two decades of intermittently successful attempts to expand Macedonian power in Greece, the Aegean, and Anatolia, plus an opportunistic alliance with Carthage, brought him into increasing conflict with Rome and Pergamon, whose territory he ravaged in 201. In 200 the Romans, prodded by the Rhodians, Pergamenes, and Athenians (whose territory **Philip** had also ravaged earlier the same year, nearly capturing Athens and Eleusis), lost patience and as "protectors of the Greeks" declared war on him. **Flamininus** defeated him at Kynoskephalai in 197, confining him to his kingdom, imposing a 1,000-talent indemnity, and taking his younger son Demetrios and others hostages. He cooperated with Rome against **Antiochos III** (190), but earned its renewed suspicion and the opposition of pro-Roman Macedonians (led by Demetrios) with his successful attempts to reorganize his kingdom and expand its power. In 180 he executed Demetrios for treason but died in 179, leaving his kingdom to his eldest son, Perseus (Figure 30).

Phryne Courtesan (*hetaira*) from Thespiai in Boiotia, ca. 380–310. Best known as **Praxiteles**' mistress and model for his Aphrodite of Knidos (Figure 104), she also supposedly inspired **Apelles**' Aphrodite Anadyomene (see Figure 107) and reportedly offered to rebuild the walls of Thebes after **Alexander** destroyed them in 335. **Praxiteles** allegedly made portraits of her in all three major media (marble, bronze, and gold), the third of which she dedicated at Delphi.

Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus) Roman politician, lawyer, and admiral, AD 23–79. He wrote an encyclopedia in thirty-seven books called the *Natural History*. Books 34–37 consider the representational arts under four heads: metals (34), with an emphasis on bronzes; earths (35), including pigments and paintings; stones (36), especially carved marbles; and gems (37). Dependent largely on Greek sources and focusing on classical art, he tends to slight the Hellenistic period. His detailed sculptural chronology (the only one extant, focusing on bronzes) ends abruptly in the year 292, when allegedly "the art ceased" (34.52), reviving only in the year 156 at the hands of "inferiors." Nevertheless, he lists more than fifty Hellenistic artists and sometimes describes their works. He died in the eruption of Vesuvius.

Plutarch Philosopher and biographer from Chaironeia in Boiotia, ca. AD 45–125. A well-traveled polymath, lecturer, and sometime adviser to the Roman emperors, he spent his last thirty years as a priest at Delphi, helping revive it under Trajan and Hadrian. His *Parallel Lives* of famous Greeks and Romans are major sources, and sometimes the only extensive ones, for many leading Hellenistic personalities, especially **Alexander** and his successors. His rhetorical, religious, philosophical, anecdotal, and antiquarian works are also goldmines of information on a host of key Hellenistic personalities and topics.

His ad hoc remarks on art (many *Lives* include comments on the portraits of their subjects) are revealing and often penetrating.

Polykleitos Influential sculptor from Argos, active ca. 450–420. A specialist in bronze, **Polykleitos** was most renowned for his Doryphoros (spearbearer) and for his Diadoumenos (athlete binding a victory fillet around his head), but he also produced other bronzes of heroes and athletes. His book *The Canon* (Rule) inspired three generations of pupils, who followed his precepts "like a law" (Pliny) and dominated Peloponnesian sculpture until the appearance of **Lysippos**.

Pompeius Magnus, Cn. (Pompey the Great) Roman general and politician, 106–48. Gaining early success and fame in **Sulla's** struggle for power (83), he played a leading role in the transition from the latter's dictatorship back to republican rule, crushing opposition in Sicily, Africa, and Spain and gaining the consulship along with Crassus in 70. After suppressing the pirates (67), he was voted command in the war against **Mithradates**. Upon the latter's defeat, exile, and suicide (63), he abolished the Seleukid Empire and turned Pontos, Bithynia, Cilicia, and Syria into Roman provinces. Stymied politically in Rome, however, he reluctantly allied with **Caesar** and Crassus in the so-called First Triumvirate (60), but his popularity and power waned thereafter. Leading the senatorial opposition to **Caesar** in 49, he met him in battle at Pharsalos in Greece (48), was defeated, and fled to Alexandria, but Ptolemy XIII had him murdered as he landed.

Poseidippos Epigrammatic poet from Pella, active in Alexandria, ca. 320–250. Twenty mainly erotic and sympotic epigrams of his are preserved in the *Greek Anthology* and some 112 more can be found in an Egyptian papyrus of around 200 in Milan (Figure 10). The latter reveal him to have been an art connoisseur and enthusiastic partisan of **Lysippos** and of **Ptolemy II**, **Arsinoe II** (Figure 31), and their court.

Praxiteles Influential Athenian sculptor, ca. 390–325. Best known for his work in marble, he specialized in statues of the younger gods, especially Aphrodite, Dionysos, and their entourages, and in bronze portraits of women. His most famous work was his naked Aphrodite of Knidos (Figure 104), supposedly based on his mistress, **Phryne**. After his death, his sons inherited his clientele and continued his work.

Ptolemy I Soter ("Savior") Macedonian general, satrap, and king, b. 367; r. 305–282. **Alexander's** boyhood friend and trusted general, he obtained the satrapy of Egypt in the settlement at Babylon after the king's death (323). Hijacking **Alexander's** body in 320 and enshrining it first at Memphis and then at his new capital of Alexandria, he weathered numerous attempts by the other successors to defeat and depose him, finally declaring himself king in 305. A "canny survivor" (Peter Green), he founded an empire that soon also encompassed most of the eastern Mediterranean coastline, Cyprus, and the Aegean, and the longest-lasting Hellenistic dynasty of all. His influential

biography of **Alexander** has survived only in spectral form, thanks to its use by the historian Arrian as his principal source.

Ptolemy II Philadelphos ("Sibling-loving") Ptolemaic king, b. 308; r. 285–246. Figure 31. Son of **Ptolemy I Soter**, **Ptolemy II** became his co-ruler in 285 and succeeded him in 282, presiding over the Ptolemaic empire's acknowledged zenith. Marrying his full sister **Arsinoe II** (Figure 31) in 275, and taking the gender-neutral title Philadelphos, he instituted a dynastic cult that his successors expanded and exploited. He reorganized Egypt's administration, bureaucracy, and finances; founded the Alexandrian Mouseion and Library; built the city's great lighthouse, or Pharos; and instituted the festival of the Ptolemaieia (see Appendix 2). He also expanded the empire considerably, fighting two successful wars with the Seleukids over control of the Levant, recovering Cyrene, and sending expeditions to the Red Sea, Nubia, and Ethiopia, whose results are visible in the Nile Mosaic (Figure 136). His support of Athens in the Chremonidean War (267–263) failed, however, resulting in Macedonian occupation of the city and Ptolemaic territorial losses in the Aegean.

Pytheos Influential architect from Priene, active ca. 370–340. He designed the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos and the Temple of Athena at Priene (Figures 5–6, 47), partially funded by Alexander in 334 (Figure 9), and wrote books on each of them. A leading light of the so-called Ionian architectural renaissance, he criticized the Doric order for its supposed failures of design and architectural logic. Conservative and rigidly consistent in their proportions, plans, and elevations, his buildings reject the exterior friezes of Athenian (Periklean) Ionic.

Seleukos I Nikator Macedonian general, satrap, ruler, and king, b. ca. 358; r. 305–281. Figure 27. One of **Alexander's** leading generals, he obtained the satrapy of Babylon in the settlement after Perdikkas's murder in 320, but soon was ousted by Antigonos One-Eye. After serving **Ptolemy** as an admiral, he retook Babylon in a daring raid (312), expelled Antigonos (308), regained control of eastern Iran and Baktria (306), and declared himself king. Halted on the Indus by Chandragupta Maurya, he made peace, ceding the Indus Valley to him in exchange for 500 elephants. These proved decisive in enabling **Seleukos** and Lysimachos to defeat and kill Antigonos at Ipsos (301). Founding Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria (300) as his new royal capital, he continued to expand and consolidate his empire, eventually defeating and killing Lysimachos at Korypedion (281). Invading Europe, he was assassinated by Ptolemy Keraunos a few months later; his son Antiochos I succeeded him.

Sulla, L. Cornelius Felix ("Fortunate") Roman general, politician, and dictator, 138–79. Distinguishing himself against the Numidians and Germans in the 100s, in southern Anatolia and Parthia in the 90s, and in the Social War (the Italian cities' revolt) in the 80s, he was voted the command against **Mithradates** in 88 but lost it owing to political intrigue. Outraged, he

marched on Rome (88) and installed himself in power; forced out in 87, he left for Greece, where he defeated **Mithradates**, sacked Athens (86), and confined the king to his kingdom (85). Returning to Italy, he marched on Rome again and made himself dictator (81). Brutally purging his opponents, he reformed the Roman constitution along conservative lines, was elected consul (80), retired, and died a year later.

Theokritos (often latinized to Theocritus) Pastoral poet from Syracuse, active ca. 300–270. The inventor of bucolic poetry, active at the Ptolemaic court in the 270s, he is accredited with thirty substantial poems and two dozen epigrams, some of which are clearly by others. The pastoral poems sketch an idyllic, rural existence populated by singing, dreaming, and often lovelorn rustics; two "mimes" parody the urban life of Alexandria; two more praise Hieron II of Syracuse and **Ptolemy II Philadelphos** in blatant bids for patronage; others recast epic and heroic themes in often ironic fashion.

Vitruvius Pollio Roman architect and engineer, active ca. 60–20. A military engineer to **Caesar**, he wrote a ten-book treatise in Latin entitled *On Architecture*, dedicating it to **Augustus**. Relying heavily on classical and Hellenistic architectural and scientific treatises, he transmits a wealth of information about Hellenistic architects; their buildings, techniques, and writings; and their reception in contemporary Rome.

Zeno Philosopher from Kition in Cyprus and founder of Stoicism, 334–262. Figure 83. Arriving in Athens in 313, he obtained an eclectic education from several assorted philosophers. A radical determinist who refused to create a brick-and-mortar school, he preferred to teach in the Painted Stoa, or Stoa Poikile, in the Athenian Agora. He thus succeeded in making his "philosophy of the Stoa" more relevant and popular than Epicureanism, its cloistered rival, could ever be. Sustained by a materialist physics and a theology that saw God as immanent throughout the cosmos and directing its development down to the smallest detail, he strove to "live in agreement with nature." He identified moral virtue with knowledge of nature's laws, and thus with the perfection of one's reason. Converts ranged from the Macedonian King Antigonos Gonatas to numerous Athenians, who in 262 voted him a golden crown and a publicly funded tomb. Introduced to Rome in 156, Stoicism soon swept the Roman elite.

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(2) Some Greek and Latin texts referenced here have not been translated into English, but most are conveniently available in the dual-text volumes (Greek-English; Latin-English) of the Loeb Classical Library, published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. In these cases, the citation is *asterisked. Pollitt's *Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (1990) also translates many of them; in these cases, his page number(s) follow the citation.

(3) All Greek texts and 99 percent of Greek inscriptions can be found online. For the texts, many of which are translated, see the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* at http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/fontsel (institutional subscribers) or http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/canon/fontsel (non-subscribers); for the inscriptions (Greek only) see the Packard Humanities Institute database at http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main.

(4) Abbreviations:

Anthology: **The Greek Anthology*
Diodoros: *Diodorus Siculus, *The Library*
Dittenberger: W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae* (Leipzig 1903–5)
IG: *Inscriptiones Graecae* (http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main)
Pausanias: *Pausanias, *Description of Greece*
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Strabo: *Strabo, *Geography*
Vitruvius: *Vitruvius (Vitruvius Pollio), *On Architecture*

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44 Alexander's court artists: *Pliny 7.125 (all three). Lysippos: *Pliny 34.63–64; *Plutarch, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander* 2.2 (*Moralia* 335A–B); *Isis and Osiris* 24 (*Moralia* 360D); *Alexander* 4.1–7; Pollitt 98–100. Apelles: *Pliny 35.85–86, 92–94; *Plutarch, *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander* 2.2 (*Moralia* 335A–B); *Alexander* 4.1–7; Pollitt 160–62. Pyrgoteles: *Pliny 7.125; 37.8; Pollitt 217–18; Stewart, *Faces of Power*, appendix 2 (complete collection of sources)

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166. Erotic scene depicting the love of Polyphemus and Galatea. Fresco. Imperial Roman, ca. 50–79 CE. From the House of the Capitelli Colorati in Pompeii. Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples, Italy. Photo © Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY, ART383510.

168. Fragment of marble statue from the Cave of Tiberius. Roman. 1st B.C.E. Museo Archeologico, Sperlonga. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY, ART38514.

169. Stephanos athlete, Villa Albani (cast in Museum of Fine Arts, Lyons). Photo: Marie-Lan Nguyen (Jastrow)/Wikimedia Commons. "This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 2.5 Generic license."

170. Sosibios krater, Paris. © Dr Ronald V. Wiedenhoeft, Saskia jgc-0183.

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